

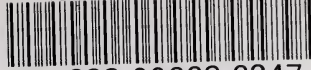
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Archæologia Cantiana.

“ANTIQUITATES SEU HISTORIARUM RELIQUÆ SUNT TANQUAM TABULÆ NAUFRAGII, CUM DEFICIENTE ET FERE SUBMERSA RERUM MEMORIA; NIHILOMINUS HOMINES INDUSTRII ET SAGACES, PERTINACI QUADAM ET SCRUPULOSA DILIGENTIA, EX GENEALOGIIS, FASTIS, TITULIS, MONUMENTIS, NUMISMATIBUS, NOMINIBUS PROPRIIS ET STYLIS, VERBORUM ETYMOLOGIIS, PROVERBIIS, TRADITIONIBUS, ARCHIVIS, ET INSTRUMENTIS, TAM PUBLICIS QUAM PRIVATIS, HISTORIARUM FRAGMENTIS, LIBRORUM NEUTIQUE HISTORICORUM LOCIS DISPERSIS,—EX HIS, INQUAM, OMNIBUS VEL ALIQUIBUS, NONNULLA A TEMPORIS DILUVIO ERIPIUNT ET CONSERVANT. RES SANE OPEROSA, SED MORTALIBUS GRATA ET CUM REVERENTIA QUADAM CONJUNCTA.”—*Bacon, De Augmentis*, ii.

“ANTIQUITIES, OR REMNANTS OF HISTORY, ARE, AS WAS SAID, TANQUAM TABULÆ NAUFRAGII; WHEN INDUSTRIOUS PERSONS, BY AN EXACT AND SCRUPULOUS DILIGENCE AND OBSERVATION, OUT OF MONUMENTS, NAMES, WORDS, PROVERBS, TRADITIONS, PRIVATE RECORDS AND EVIDENCES, FRAGMENTS OF STORIES, PASSAGES OF BOOKS THAT CONCERN NOT STORY, AND THE LIKE, DO SAVE AND RECOVER SOMEWHAT FROM THE DELUGE OF TIME.”—*Bacon, Advancement of Learning*, ii.

Archæologia Cantiana;

BEING

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

KENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.



VOLUME I.

London :

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INTRODUCTION.

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IF it be asked what is the scope and object of our design, we shall best answer in the words of the philosopher which we have chosen for the motto of our work. From the memory of things decayed and forgotten, we propose to save and recover what we may, for the present generation and for posterity, of the wrecks still floating on the ocean of time, and preserve them with a religious and scrupulous diligence. We propose to gather into one the neglected fragments and faint memorials that remain to us of ages long gone by; to reclaim and preserve the memories of men who, with common passions like ourselves, have stood and laboured on this soil of Kent; to save from the submergence of oblivion their manners and their traditions, their names, their lineage, their language, and their deeds. To reproduce the past in its full integrity is perhaps impossible; yet for those who have hopes somewhat beyond the present,—vision and affections somewhat more extended than the narrow shoal of earth and time on which they stand,—it may be sufficient, if we can collect some feeble and scanty remnants, which, failing to ensure a higher purpose, may help them in some degree to link the present to the past.

and serve as stepping-stones to bridge over the broad chasm and torrent of time.

Upon the importance of such a work as this it is hardly needful for us to enlarge. To the archæological researches of scholars during the last and the preceding centuries, history and criticism are more indebted than to any other studies. From the labours of the archæologist, from coins, monuments, inscriptions, and etymologies, the modern historian of Rome has been enabled to throw a steadier light, not merely on the obscure originals of that imperial city,—a clearer and brighter light than the Roman himself ever enjoyed,—but to hold up a torch to all history, and teach mankind to thread those paths with safety which they had trodden blindfold before. Why should not similar fruits be expected from similar labours? Why should not the toil of the archæologist, when applied to our own county, prove as beneficial to English history? Why should not the light thus upheld on the distant past, kindle into a steadier blaze for the history of nearer times? In all that constitutes such memorials as these, in the bulk and salvage of these wrecks, England is incomparably richer than Greece or Rome. Here civil wars and foreign invasions have less obliterated the traces of ancient laws, institutions, families, and races; the barrows and burial-grounds of long-forgotten generations remain unviolated; the manor-house and the farm bear upon their faces the legible records of the past as clearly as the promises of the future; the very shells and incrustations through which the internal life of the nation has passed have been religiously preserved in all its varied forms. We can trace, from step to step, from age to age, the infant

sallies, the march and progress, the maturer counsels and ripened institutions of the land. We can point to the mine from which they were dug, the shadows where they reposed at noon.

To collect, register, and preserve these memorials of the past, is the duty of every man; it is especially incumbent upon the men of Kent. The history of Kent is, in a measure, the history of our common country. No great movement, civil or religious, has cast its light or shadow on the land, of which Kent has not preserved the unfading impress and memorial. No races have here taken root, or disappeared from the soil; no peculiarity of laws, of customs, or of language; no war or invasion threatened, the mementoes of which cannot be traced with greater certainty in the history of Kent than elsewhere. Here first landed the Roman, here the Saxon, here the first Christian monk and missionary. Here labour and letters first went hand in hand. Here rose the first Abbey, the first Cathedral. Starting from the great port of Kent the Norman turned the key on the Conquest of England. From Dover crusading kings, conquerors of France, insular opponents of continental despotism, started forth on their several missions—of religion, of war, and of liberty. Here landed the French monarch in his abasement; here Charles V. sunned his imperial crown. What ceremonies, what pomps, what processions have not lined the streets of our Kentish capital or threaded their way along its familiar roads! Pilgrims to the shrine of St. Thomas, “with rich offerings;” the wealthy franklin, with his well-filled purse; ministers to all Courts; ambassadors from all climes:—the Frank and the Almayn, the Italian and the

Spaniard, the Muscovite and the Dane; archbishops and cardinals; kings and emperors; whatever of ambition, of gain, or pleasure, can enter the heart or prompt the actions and motives of man;—here all passed and repassed; here found shelter in the abbeys or palaces, the hostelries or manor-houses of Kent. No busier mart in all England: none more rich or more diversified, could imagination recall and reinvest the scene.

From bluff headland to shelving down, from salt flood to ebbing stream, from hop-gardens, cherry-orchards, meads, and cornfields, homestead or manor-house, ancestral hall or feudal castle, to Roman keep or Celtic barrow, Saxon burg or Norman cathedral, what wants our Kent of instruction, meditation, and delight? Here are the usages and customs embalmed, here the thoughts and feelings of every generation, that has stood and rested on English soil. In its dust are the ashes of Celt, Belgian, Roman, Saxon, Dane, and Norman. Here the Roman landed, never to return; here he surrounded himself with the arts of civilized life. Here the Saxon still wandered in the forest, without disloyalty to his ancient creed; and the Dane in its bright bays and creeks still gazed on that element which reminded him of his Norse forefathers, and filled the sea with visions not less ennobling than the Saxon found by land.

From the date when this island first appears in the page of history,—has for the first time a history of its own,—Kent is the bond that binds it to the old world; Kent is the first link of that electric chain that rouses it from the slumbers of untold and unheeded generations; Kent first brings it within the tide and flow of civilized life. Here were first heard the words which have formed

the pith and staple of our English tongue; here first were cradled the laws, customs, manners, institutions, which have entered so deeply into the formation of our national life and character. Here were the first indications given, followed by many since, that that life had really commenced, had taken vigorous root, could not be removed by extraneous force, however it might be modified. In this the most accessible corner of the island, most exposed to external influences, the sally-port and highway of the nations, opening its bosom, like its sea, to all comers, sprang forth that unbated spirit of independence and love of liberty which have rendered Kent famous in the annals of England; true to that image of our common country, which has received all races, admitted all literatures, sheltered all tribes, given equal rights to all strangers, and yet has maintained inviolate its self-respect, its irrepressible love of freedom, its distinctive individuality of character.

Vividly has it impressed itself on the imagination of our poets, on his more than all, who is the faithfullest and truest exponent of English nationality. In the dramas of Shakspeare the features of Kent stand clearly forth in indelible portraiture, more distinctly graven than those of his native Warwickshire. The particular has passed into the general; in the mind of the native, as well as of the stranger, the local portraiture of Kent has become the portraiture of England. The dimmest tradition of its Celtic times, the grandest and most pathetic of our island histories, is associated with Kent in the conception of the poet. From our county it has derived a definite shape, "a local habitation." By virtue of that impression, stamped on his own imagination

and that of all Englishmen, the poet has been enabled to unite the shadowy and unseen past to local and visible scenery; he has transferred us, with all our sympathies, to ages long before the Roman had set his eyes upon this land, making us feel, in King Lear, our human affinity with the remotest occupiers of the soil.

To unravel the various threads of which these impressions are composed, to penetrate the channel to its primeval source, to give clearness and consistency to the outline now vague, shadowy, and incomplete, to find a certain footing for the historian amidst fading and feeble traditions, to bind age to age by feelings of natural piety, but especially to ages far removed, is the task of the archæologist; a task, as Bacon says, grateful to man and not without reverence. We desire to see—as who would not?—this county of ours reinvested with its “forest primeval,” its first inhabitants, its earliest colonists; we desire to see the successive steps which have advanced us from a small to a mighty nation, to revisit the cradle of our history, to realize it as far as may be from generation to generation. The dress and manners, the houses they lived in, the food they ate, much more the language and the thoughts, the polity and institutions, of those who have preceded us, are full of thoughtful pleasure and delight. And for these purposes the archæology of Kent furnishes a rich and unexplored field. If Celtic history is to be studied, we have Celtic remains,—the cromlechs of Coldrum, of Kitt’s Cotty, of Addington, and others. These have yet to be explored, developed, and described. If Roman military occupation, we have Roman fortresses,—Richborough, Reculver, Lymne, and Dover; Roman roads, stations, baths, and

monuments, are sown broadcast over the land. Step by step may the inquirer trace, in the examination of these remains, now spanning the long reclaimed morass, now surmounting the hill or piercing the once impenetrable forest, the genius of that unwearied people, covering with a sympathetic network the provinces under their control ; bringing under military rule and into stern military contact, mountain and seaport, forest, fortress, and rising colony ; ruling all and rousing all with the magical rapidity and precision of their movements.

When the fierce native found shelter no longer in his thickets, from that stern gaze which had scanned and measured every corner of the earth, when “force perforce” he must endure the presence of his conqueror ; when the desolated precincts afforded no protection or reverence to his Druids, when the conqueror himself exchanged the sword for arts and civilization ;—in the remains of military roads and strongholds, of baths, of temples, and granaries, the archæologist of Kent will trace the change, and picture to himself the next great step in the annals of his country. He will read in the monuments of Celtic-Roman Kent the efficacy of those lessons which the polished and politic Roman delivered to his conquered subjects ; he will see Kentish Britain pouring its tributes of corn into the ports and navies of the Romans ; the sword forgotten for the plough ; a teeming soil offering a tempting and defenceless prey to the fierce plunderers of the North. He will trace the new comer step by step, in the permanent and wider influence he exerted ; in the arms, the habits, the weapons and instruments he brought ; in the monuments which he left of his victories over the inhabitants ; in his camp

and barrow ; now wandering in the palaces of the Cæsars, now filling sight and imagination with the material tokens of a great and romantic people. He will trace the Anglo-Saxon in his gradual assumption of Roman customs and usages ; in his silent preparation for the still greater change which was to follow ; in his mode of dealing with the conquered races ; in his efforts to retain the valour, independence, and antiquity of his own ; in the fusion of one and all in the bond and working of a common Christianity. Celtic, Roman, Anglo-Saxon Kent, wrought out in clearer types, will help him to realize in colours more distinct, more certain, and more definite, Britannic, Roman, Anglo-Saxon England.

But in thus tracing out the influence of the new comers in their broader characteristics, by the general and local traditions and memorials of his county, the archæologist will not neglect those less seen but not less subtle and more permanent changes introduced in the division and occupation of the land. He will not overlook the origin and causes of those divisions ; the meanings of the words in which they are enshrined ; their effect on the social and political condition of the country. All these are well worthy the consideration, as they are the special province of the philosophical archæologist ; and in all these the contributors to our pages may render essential service to the cause of history, whilst they are helping to place the ancient and distinguishing glories of their native county on an imperishable basis. We hesitate not to say, that a county history which should develope its subject in all its striking peculiarities, would do more than any other book towards giving us a living and clear insight into our national history.

With the occupation of the Saxon, Kent returns to the rank it first held on the arrival of the Roman; under Hengist and Ethelbert it once more takes the lead in those events which are henceforth to exercise a paramount influence on the nation. A new race of kings step forth, who have left the impression of kingship written more clearly on its annals than any other. Christianity elicits and shapes the dormant thought of loyalty to a spiritual and temporal supremacy. To Kent we turn and its sovereign Ethelbert for the first exemplification of that royal position, since so closely interwoven with all the political modifications and political strength of England. From this cradle the Church arose, second only in antiquity and scarcely second in power to the Crown; here it first brought into harmonious but mysterious operation the antagonistic elements of antagonistic populations. Here it stood forth at once the emblem of spiritual sovereignty, as of spiritual ministration; of distinct nationality, yet a world-wide brotherhood. It is to Canterbury that we turn, as the metropolitan church of England; the fruitful parent of a thousand churches; the type from which all others were derived; the cynosure towards which the hearts of Englishmen moved in the Middle Ages; their Rome and the centre of their worship, when some centre of visible unity was necessary in the distractions of Christendom and the feebleness of national incorporation. In Canterbury and its archbishops we behold the men who, like Lanfranc and Anselm, felt that their insular independence was compatible with their interest in the general well-being of Christendom; or like Stephen Langton, that their connection with Christendom could only be realized in its widest and most permanent forms by loyalty to the nation.

Under the shadow of the Church, arts, literature, and science spring to life; not less trade and commerce. The handicraft now developed in the free and skilled labourer of the United Kingdom, was brought out and trained for the uses of the Church. Its masons, carpenters, painters, workers in glass and metal, its weavers, its printers, its decorators of all kinds, even its merchants and traders, gathered and grew up under the wing of the Church, looking to its walls and monasteries, its spiritual and temporal influence, for protection, for instruction, for encouragement. In missals, coins, frescoes, tombs, altars, screens, and canopies; in carved work of wood, stone, and iron; in mullioned windows and cathedral canopies, we read not the traces of mere ecclesiastical magnificence, the sacrifices of early love and piety, the visible enshrinements of faith and hope, but the still surviving annals of the skill, industry, and patience of a race which, turning its energies in a different channel, has since achieved as splendid and abiding victories in the mine and the factory. Manchester and Birmingham are the lineal offsprings of Canterbury, York, and Lincoln; the clothworkers of Kent have given place to the manufacturers of Leeds and Kidderminster. Yet the Church was the cradle of both; and whatever changes arts and commerce may undergo in the great law of progress, under the shadow of the Church grew up the sacred independence of righteous industry which prevented mechanical employments from degenerating into mere slavish taskwork, and redeemed the votaries of labour from the moral and physical degradation of the serf. In directions still humbler the influence of the cathedral is visible; in the knowledge and practice of agriculture brought by St. Augus-

tine and his monks into England ; in the application of skilled labour to the land ; in the parks and gardens which grew up around its hallowed and peaceful precincts ; in the constant endeavours of its Italian and Italianized archbishops to surround themselves with the natural and artificial productions of the South, thus preparing the way for that distinction which has won for Kent the title of the "Garden of England."¹ Here local and minute inquiry may render essential service in a field of investigation as yet unwrought ; the annals of Kentish horticulture are not less interesting, scarcely less important than the recovery of forgotten documents or buried political facts.

Yet one more great convulsion, one that is to link in bonds of lasting unity the disconnected yet noble elements of a great nation ; to knit the wood and the stone, the delicate ironwork, the gold, and the precious stones ; to bring out in fresh vigour and beauty the Celtic and the Roman combined with the Saxon ; to give a greater finish, a more enduring grace, a deeper shade ; to fill a brave and loyal land with chivalrous thoughts, and quicken its imagination with poetic visions

" Of pomp, and feast, and revelry,
With masque and antique pageantry,
Such sights as youthful poets dream
On summer eve by haunted stream,"

Norman prowess and Norman adventure, Norman landlord and Saxon tenant, the baronial hall, its ladies and its minstrels, its tales of knightly daring and courtesy, of

¹ " A gentler life spreads round the holy spires ;
Where'er they rise the sylvan waste retires
And aery harvests crown the fertile lea."

loyal dependency, of summer jousts and Christmas gambols, of armed retainers and faithful squires, are the growth of this new era. Hence the feelings of personal attachment to ancient houses and ancient race, mellowing in the process to kindlier and nobler relationship between the owner and tiller of the land, raising up throughout the country a state of life and society which exists in no other. Hence, in earlier days, sprang the Nevills, the Maminots, the Says, the De Crescies, the Clares, the Crevecœurs, the De Chilhams, De Thurnhams, De Leybournes, the Averanches, the De Burghs, the Criols, the Rokesles, the Cobhams, the Malmaynes, the Beauchamps, the Greys, the Poynings, the Valoignes, the Strabolgis, the Badlesmeres, the Northwoods, the Peches, the Freninghams, and Hauts. Hence, in after ages, sprang the Wyats, the St. Legers, the Cheynes, the Bulleyns, the Sidneys, the Guldefords, the Ropers, the Isleys, the Wottons, the Moyles, the Hales, the Cromers, the Harts, the Bretts, the Levesons, the Scots, the Roberts, the Kempes, the Monins, the Twysdens, the Derings, the Knatchbulls, the Tokes, the Darells, the Colepepers, the Walsinghams, and Fanes. Hence, too, the Astleys, the Richmond Stuarts, the Sackvilles, the Finches, the Vanes, the Filmers, the Maneys, the Brockmans, the Tuftons, the Botelers, the Clerks, the Selbys; the men who at all periods stood up for the freedom of England at home and her aggrandisement abroad. These are the men, and such as these, whose names are indelibly connected with our ancient castles and ancestral halls; our Leeds, Penshurst, Cobham, Cowling, Allington, Birling, Leybourn, Chilham, Sutton, Hever, Ollantigh, Hothfield, Tunbridge, Rochester, Dover, Lul-

lingston, Surrenden, Eastwell, Roydon, Scadbury, Knole, Bedgbury, Mersham, Godinton, Hemsted, Glassenbury, Mereworth, Linton, Beachborough, Teston, Ford, the Motes. Need we insist on these matters, hitherto considered as the peculiar province of the archæologist? With such examples as these to look back upon, we may be forgiven our attachment to the past; our reverence for the homes which gave birth to such men, and that home-loving and homely feeling which characterized their lives in its most chivalrous aspects. If that reverence for home and family which manifests itself under so many forms be in some respects our weakness, it is in more our glory and our strength. The Northern chief raised up his newborn child on the warrior's shield, to signify for what purpose he was born: even so, home has been the cradle of our greatest men, the shield on which they have been raised, not merely to defend their country, but to secure those blessings without which all countries are alike, and all indifferent. That has been our palladium against the encroachments of spiritual tyranny on one side, of temporal tyranny on the other. Here Englishmen, taking their stand, have revered monarchy as it reflected back to them an enlarged image of their own household,—the Church as a family. Who shall wonder then that, in common with the most moral and most reverential nations of the ancient world, they have guarded with a religious care the traditions and successions of the family; that this reverence has mingled its roots and its branches with reverence for law and political order, until the one can be no longer disengaged from the other; until, taking further root, the same feeling has made its way into

every form almost of art and literature ; until no biography, however meagre, is without its charm, no portrait without its interest ; no record of great men is allowed to perish ; no letter or memorial of them that is not duly valued ? The same feeling has displayed and fed itself by the jealous preservation of family archives, of family mansions, of tombs, of names that linger round old haunts in field and city ; as if the spirit still flitted about its ancient resting-place.

For the elucidation of these relics of antiquity, though scattered and submerged in the deluge of time, *tanquam tabulæ naufragii*, and demanding a tender and thoughtful hand for their collection and arrangement, we have genealogies and evidences, letters and archives. These are interesting to all, if we look to no higher motive than that curiosity implanted by nature in the breast of all, which urges them to become acquainted with other lands and other times than those in which they live ; grateful and agreeable to that better and nobler feeling which teaches men to recognize their bond with the mighty soul of humanity in all ages, instinctive of solemn thoughts and reverential musings.

“ I well consider all that ye have sayd ;
 And find that all things stedfastnes doe hate
 And changed be ; yet being rightly wayd,
 They are not changed from their first estate ;
 But by their change their being doe dilate ;
 And turning to themselves at length againe
 Doe worke their owne perfection so by fate :
 Then over them Change doth not rule and raigne,
 But they raigne over Change, and doe their states maintain.”

Museums and libraries, public and private archives, abound with treasures of this kind ; in many respects the most valuable, in all respects the most interesting,

that can be furnished to a journal like ours. Here most of our readers can lend us effectual aid; and united efforts, easily borne by many, may be prosecuted more efficiently than by few, and produce a harvest of materials for the illustration of our county biographies that cannot be surpassed. One of the charms of archæology at least, like that of natural history, consists in its eminently social nature; in the employment it offers to all, in the services which all can render. From some of our correspondents—and we expect their name will be Legion—we shall look for narratives of discoveries already made or hereafter to be prosecuted in their immediate neighbourhoods; for descriptions of the relics turned up at the unearthing of tumuli; for accounts of ancient tombs. Others will tell us of their local traditions, or send us letters and genealogies of families living or extinct in their neighbourhood. Let all, now and then in their lives, revisit the past, and do their best to refresh the memories of ancient things; let them with loving sympathy wipe away the dust or remove the moss and incrustations which have gathered round the records of our long-buried but not forgotten worthies. For that is the character of our land.

How much that is valuable has grown out of this reverence for ancient families and ancient forms, we ourselves are witnesses. Living in the past more than any other nation,—shaping our course by that past,—recurring to past experience,—rewarding, honouring, and celebrating the thoughts and actions of past men and ages,—carving out for ourselves from the expanse of time a broader horizon,—we pass from the familiarity of the present into the keen enjoyment of distant an-

tiquity. And if the rapid sweep of our progress as a nation, instead of rendering us indifferent to the deeds and wisdom of their forefathers, has implanted in us a keener relish, a more thorough appreciation for ancient but not forgotten things; if at this time above all others, when we have drifted so widely from the past that it might be thought the past could yield no light to those inquiries we now are most deeply interested in; if in an age more devoted than any other to utilitarianism, the history of the past has received double honour, and the lore and civilization of the past are more duly valued;—may we not expect that out of those inquiries to which the pages of this journal will be devoted, innumerable vestiges of events, of scenes, of life and manners, will present themselves to the future historian, which shall enable him to place these records in still clearer light; to represent the past in its fullest and liveliest proportions, to fix the uncertain, to clear the obscure; and when the mission of this nation is accomplished, if ever it is accomplished, to leave to future generations the exact form and pressure of a great people, from infancy to decay, who have not lived on God's earth in vain, or been entrusted with such vast powers and empires for fruitless and transitory purposes? By memorials such as these, carefully and consecutively gathered into many folios during the last century; by scattered fragments of the wreck; by inscriptions, coins, and etymologies,—the scorn of flippant wits in a flippant age,—the great comparative anatomist of ancient history was enabled to read the lesson of the past, and to teach men to find their way by as sure a clue as the disciple of Buckland or Owen reanimates a

world of *megatheria* and *hylæosauri*. We expect no less from the labours of the English archæologist.

These harvests, no scanty ones, are to be reaped in all directions; no scanty ones, not unworthy of our common country, or that still smaller spot of it to which we owe our birth and the innumerable silent influences which that soil has sent into our souls with all its breathing traditions. Who shall count or weigh them? Who shall say how the associations of our native land may have grown up with bone and sinew; how far the firm will has been fostered, the imagination fed by the ancient memories of the soil? But we shall need all hands to help us, and all may; we shall need the full strength implied in our motto to accomplish our task, "The might of Kentish men, and the zeal of Kentish maidens."¹ Hitherto they have lent us effectual aid to launch our boat; let them speed the good ship on its course, not with their good wishes only, but by inspiring, as they can,—none better—many other labourers with their zeal in helping forward the work. Then, if we cannot place Kentish Archæology on a footing wor-

¹ "As to the meaning of the motto '*Cant-wara mægð*,'—'*Cant-wara mægð*' does not merely mean the *tribe*, people, district, or county of Kent or of Kentish men, but *Wara* denotes *Kent-dwellers*, those who inhabit Kent, those who are bound together, who dwell in all their domestic comforts as husbands; for '*ware*' is allied to '*wer*,' a man, a husband.

"'*Mægð*' has a still more extensive meaning; it denotes a *tribe*, people, the locality of a tribe, a district, province; what has influence or power, originates or increases as woman; from '*mæg*,' a woman; '*magan*,' to be able, to prevail.

"Hence '*Cant-wara mægð*' may be paraphrased and may include, *what-ever has been done by men, husbands of Kent, spell-bound to the district, and influenced by the noble deeds and the great works of antiquity, by the gentle and all-persuasive power of woman.*"—*Rev. Joseph Bosworth, D.D., Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford.*

thy of our county, worthy too of our common country,—more than all, worthy of the auspices under which we have commenced, and the aid and good wishes accorded to us,—we shall take up our old local proverb, proud as it may appear, “Not in Kent, not in Christendom;”—the thing is not to be done, or not done in this generation.

* * * For the badge of our Society, which adorns the title-page of this Volume, we are indebted to the taste and munificence of three ladies, daughters of the Earl of Abergavenny,—Lady Caroline Nevill, Lady Augusta Mostyn, and Lady Isabel Bligh.

ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

Page 5, line 3, *for* muttons,² *read* multons.³

5, line 5, *for* bucks,³ *read* bucks.²

18. With reference to the facsimile of Letter VI., it should be noted that this does not differ from other original letters of the period, the address being always at the back, and the signature at the foot of the folio, however wide the space might be between it and the last words of the letter. These two points we have been obliged to accommodate to our page; in other respects, the lithograph is an exact facsimile of the original.

40, The heading of Letter 23, *for* From the Same to the Same, *read* From Archbishop Warham to Cardinal Wolsey.

40, line 15, Courtopscet, *sic* in original, but it should have been 'Courttopstret,' *for* Court at Street, *vulgo* Courtup Street, *i.e.* the manor of Street, in Limne. It was at the Chapel of our Lady here that the "Holy Maid of Kent" practised her impostures.

67, line 5, *for* the reference p. 50, *read* p. 64.

87. The woodcut of Sir Thomas Burton should have been inserted at the top of p. 88.

120. The inscription to Sir Thomas Bullen has been worked off at the foot of the figure, instead of being placed, as on the tomb itself, over the head. It was originally at the foot of the tomb; but as that adjoins the eastern wall of the church, it was probably transferred thence to its present position for facility of reading.

124. In the commencement of the paper a reference is made to the "Inquisitiones post Mortem in the Appendix to this Volume." We have been compelled by want of space to defer the insertion of these "Inquisitiones" till our next.

195, line 23, *for* hould, *read* should.

213, line 20, *for* incenced, *read* incensed.

The Council of the Kent Archæological Society are not answerable for any opinions that may be put forward in this Work. The Contributors of the different Papers are each responsible for their own remarks.

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1. The Society shall consist of Ordinary Members and Honorary Members.

2. The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, consisting of the President of the Society, the Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Secretary, and twenty-four Members elected out of the general body of the Subscribers: one-fourth of the latter shall go out annually by rotation, but shall nevertheless be re-eligible. Five Members of the Council to constitute a quorum.

3. The Council shall meet to transact the business of the Society on the second Thursday in the months of March, June, September, and December, and at any other time that the Secretary may deem it expedient to call them together. The June Meeting shall always be held in London: those of March, September, and December, at Canterbury and Maidstone alternately.

4. At every Meeting of the Society or Council, the President, or, in his absence, the Chairman, shall have a casting vote, independently of his vote as a Member.

5. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held annually, in July, August, or September, at some place rendered interesting by its antiquities or historical associations, in the eastern and western divisions of the county alternately: the day and place thereof to be appointed by the Council. At the said General Meeting, antiquities shall be exhibited, and papers read on subjects of archæological interest. The accounts of the Society, having been previously allowed by the Auditors, shall be presented; the Council, through the Secretary, shall make a Report on the state of the Society; and the Auditors and the six new Members of the Council for the ensuing year shall be elected.

6. The Annual General Meeting shall have power to make such

alterations in the Rules as the majority of Members present may approve; provided, that notice of any contemplated alterations be given, in writing, to the Secretary, before the 1st June in the then current year, to be laid by him before the Council at their next Meeting; provided, also, that the said contemplated alterations be specifically set out in the notices summoning the Meeting, at least one month before the day appointed for it.

7. A Special General Meeting may be summoned, on the written requisition of seven Members, or of the President, or two Vice-Presidents, which must specify the subject intended to be brought forward at such Meeting; and such subject alone can then be considered.

8. Candidates for admission must be proposed by one Member of the Society, and seconded by another, and be balloted for, if required, at any Meeting of the Council, or at a General Meeting, one black ball in five to exclude.

9. Each Ordinary Member shall pay an Annual Subscription of 10s., to be due on the 19th of September in each year; or £5 may at any time be paid, in lieu of future subscriptions, as a composition for life. All subscriptions to be paid in advance.

10. All Subscriptions and Donations are to be paid to the Bankers of the Society, or to one of the Secretaries.

11. All Life Compositions shall be vested in Government Securities, in the names of four Trustees, to be elected by the Council. The interest only of such funds to be used for the ordinary purposes of the Society.

12. No cheque shall be drawn, except by order of the Council, and every cheque shall be signed by two Members of the Council, and the Secretary.

13. The President and Secretary, on any vacancy, shall be elected by a General Meeting of the Subscribers.

14. Members of either House of Parliament, who are landed proprietors of the county or residents therein, shall, on becoming Members of the Society, be placed on the list of Vice-Presidents, and with them such other persons as the Society may elect to that office.

15. The Council shall have power to elect, without ballot, on the nomination of two Members, any lady who may be desirous of becoming a Member of the Society.

16. The Council shall have power to appoint as Honorary Member, any person likely to promote the interests of the Society. Such Honorary Member not to pay any subscription, and not to have the right of voting at any Meetings of the Society; but to have all the other privileges of Members.

17. The Council shall have power to appoint any Member, Honorary Local Secretary, for the town or district wherein he may reside, in order to facilitate the collection of accurate information as to objects and discoveries of local interest, and for the receipt of subscriptions.

18. Meetings for the purpose of reading papers, the exhibition of antiquities, or the discussion of subjects connected therewith, shall be held at such times and places as the Council may appoint.

19. The Society shall avoid all subjects of religious or political controversy.

20. The Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society, to be communicated to the Members at the General Meetings.

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- Waddington, Rev. Herbert, B.A., *Newington, Hythe*.
 Walker, Henry Bachelor, Esq., *New Romney*.
 Walker, William Dering, Esq., *New Romney*.
 Wallace, Rev. George, *Precincts, Canterbury*.
 Waller, Edmund, Esq., *Farmington Lodge, North Leach, Gloucestershire*.
 Walmsley, Mr. Frederick, *Penenden Heath Road, Maidstone*.
 Walter, William, Esq., *East Farleigh*.
 Walter, William, Esq., *Rainham*.
 Warde, Charles, Esq., *Squerryes Court, Westerham*.
 Warre, J. A., Esq., M.P., *West Cliffe, Ramsgate*.
 *Way, Albert, Esq., *Wonham Manor, Reigate*.
 Webster, Thomas, Esq., R.A., *Cranbrook*.
 Welldon, Rev. J., D.D., *Tunbridge School*.
 Welldon, Rev. Edward I., M.A., *Tunbridge*.
 Whatman, James, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vinter's, Maidstone*.
 Wheelwright, J., Esq., *Meopham Court, Gravesend*.
 Whichcord, John, Esq., *Maidstone*.
 White, Rev. John, *St. Stephen's Vicarage, Canterbury*.
 *White, Thomas, Esq., *Wateringbury*.
 White, Mrs. Thomas, *Wateringbury*.
 Whitehead, John, Esq., *Barnjet, Maidstone*.
 Whitehead, Thomas Miller, Esq., 8, *Duke Street, St. James's, London, s.w.*
 Whitelock, Rev. B., *Groombridge*.
 Whitmore, William, Esq., *Beckenham, s.e.*
 Whittaker, Charles Gustavus, Esq., *Barming*.

- Whittaker, Charles Gustavus, jun., Esq., *Coldrum Lodge, Addington, Malling.*
- Whittle, John, Esq., *Star Hill, Rochester.*
- Wickham, George, Esq., *Maidstone.*
- Wigan, Rev. Alfred, M.A., *Luddesdown Rectory, Gravesend.*
- Wigan, Frederick, Esq., *Hibernia Chambers, London Bridge, S.E.*
- Wigan, J. A., Esq., *Clare House, East Malling.*
- Wigan, Mrs., *ditto.*
- Wigan, James, Esq., *Mortlake, Surrey, S.W.*
- Wigan, L. D., Esq., *Rock House, Maidstone.*
- Wigan, Rev. Septimus, *Dover.*
- Wigan, Rev. W. L., M.A., *East Malling.*
- Wightwick, T. N., Esq., *Canterbury.*
- Wild, Thomas M., Esq., *Branbridges, East Peckham.*
- Wildes, Henry Dudlow, Esq., *West Malling.*
- Wilkinson, Charles, Esq., *Sandfield, Tunbridge Wells.*
- *Willement, Thomas, Esq., F.S.A., *Davington Priory, Faversham.*
- Williams, Charles, Esq., *Cranbrook Lodge.*
- *Wilson, Cornelius Lea, Esq., *Beckenham, S.E.*
- Wilson, J. E., Esq., *Cranbrook.*
- *Wilson, Samuel, Esq., Alderman of London, *Beckenham, S.E.*
- *Wilson, Sir Thomas Maryon, Bart., *Charlton House, S.E.*
- Winch, Richard, Esq., *Rochester.*
- Winham, Rev. Daniel, *Tunbridge Wells.*
- Wodehouse, Rev. Walker, *Elham Vicarage, Canterbury.*
- Wood, Mr. George, *High Street, Canterbury.*
- *Wood, Western, Esq., *North Cray Place, S.E.*
- Woodall, Rev. E. H., *St. Margaret's, Canterbury.*
- Woodfall, J. W., Esq., M.D., *Maidstone.*
- Woodruff, Rev. John, M.A., *Upchurch Vicarage, Sittingbourne.*
- Wrench, Rev. Frederick, M.A., *Stowting Rectory.*
- *Young, John, Esq., F.S.A., *Vanbrugh Fields, Blackheath, S.E.*

* * Should any errors or omissions of honorary distinctions, etc., be found in this list, it is requested that notice thereof may be given to the Secretary.

MEMBERS ELECTED,
1859.

Ash, Rev. Jarvis Holland, D.C.L., *Calverley Park, Tunbridge Wells.*

Filmer, The Dowager Lady, *Eaton Square, s.w.*

Golding, Mr. Charles, *Paddington, w.*

Hallowes, Thomas, Esq., *Tunbridge.*

Philpott, John, Esq., *West Farleigh.*

Pollard, James P., Esq., 51, *Upper John Street, Fitzroy Square, w.*

Russell, Rev. John Fuller, B.C.L., F.S.A., *Greenhithe.*

Sandilands, Edwin Vincent, Esq., *Hythe.*

Selwyn, Rev. E. J., *Lee Park, Lee, s.e.*

Temple, Rev. W., Rector of St. Alphege, Canterbury, *Eastbridge Hospital, Canterbury.*

Wilkinson, T. Eachus, Esq., *Sydenham, s.e.*

The
Kent Archæological Society.

To the Members of the Kent Archæological Society, the history of its origin and early progress must necessarily be a subject of interest. We cannot, therefore, commence our first Volume better than by recording, step by step, the annals of the Association, from the day when its first promoters assembled at Mereworth, until its organization was completed at the Inaugural Meeting of April last.

On the 19th of September, 1857, the Viscount and Viscountess Falmouth invited a few friends to Mereworth Castle, for the purpose of laying the foundation of an Archæological Society for the county of Kent.

That party consisted of the following Noblemen and Gentlemen:—

The Viscount FALMOUTH, in the Chair.

The Marquess CAMDEN, K.G.

The Earl AMHERST.

The Honourable and Reverend Sir F. J. STAPLETON, Bart.

CHARLES WYKEHAM MARTIN, Esq., M.P.

JAMES WHATMAN, Esq., M.P.

EDWARD HUSSEY, Esq.

GEORGE WARDE NORMAN, Esq.

Rev. MIDDLETON ONSLOW, *Rural Dean*.

Rev. WILLIAM JOHN MOORE BRABAZON.

Rev. LAMBERT BLACKWELL LARKING.

On this occasion, after a short discussion, the following Resolutions were adopted:—

1. That a Society be formed, to be called "The Kent Archæological Society."

2. That the Marquess CAMDEN, K.G., be President thereof.

3. That Members of either House of Parliament shall, on becoming Members of the Society, be placed on the list of Vice-Presidents.

4. That the Rules of the Sussex Society, having been already tested by experience, be adopted by this Society.

5. That a Committee be formed, with instructions to apply to all those who are supposed to be favourable to the objects of this Meeting, to invite them to become "original Members" without the Ballot.

6. That the said Committee consist of the Viscount FALMOUTH, Sir EDWARD DERING, Bart., M.P., Sir BROOK BRIDGES, Bart., M.P., CHARLES WYKEHAM MARTIN, Esq., M.P., JAMES WHATMAN, Esq., M.P., EDWARD FOSS, Esq., and the Rev. BEALE POSTE, with power to add to their number. The President and Honorary Secretary of the Society to be *ex officio* Members of this Committee.

7. That the said Committee be instructed to consider and report to a General Meeting any alterations in the Rules which may appear to be necessary for the success of the Society.

8. That the said General Meeting be summoned as soon as the Committee are prepared with their Report; and that the Rules be then submitted for final approval.

9. That the Rev. LAMBERT B. LARKING be Honorary Secretary.

The thanks of the Party were subsequently most cordially tendered to Viscount FALMOUTH, for his kindness in allowing them to meet at Mereworth Castle to originate the Society, and for his able and impartial presidency at this their first effort to organize an Archæological Society for the county of Kent.

It will be needless to insert here the Rules of the Sussex Society, which were provisionally adopted at this Meeting. They will be found in the form in which they were finally accepted by the Inaugural Meeting, as recorded at page xiii.

The Resolutions adopted at the Mereworth Meeting

were immediately circulated in all parts of the county, with such successful results, that within two months, on November 24, 1857, the Secretary reported that the Society already consisted of 367 Members, of whom twenty-four were Life Compounders.

On the 24th of November the Committee held their first Meeting at Maidstone for revision of the Rules, etc., when EDWARD KNATCHBULL HUGESSEN, Esq., and CHARLES MERCER, Esq., were elected additional Members.

Two more Meetings of the Committee were subsequently held at the Charles Museum, Maidstone, viz. one on the 17th March, 1858, and the other on the 8th of April following. At these Meetings the Rules were carefully revised, and a Report prepared for presentation to the Inaugural Meeting, summoned to be held at the Charles Museum, Maidstone, on the 14th of April following, for the purpose of ratifying the proceedings of the Committee, and completing the organization of the Society.

Having thus briefly recorded the consecutive steps in the progress of the Society, from the day on which it was first called into existence at Mereworth Castle, till it had attained sufficient maturity for regular Inauguration, we turn to the Transactions of the Meeting which was held, for that purpose, at the Charles Museum, Maidstone, on the 14th of April, 1858.

Among a numerous body of gentlemen interested in Archæology, and especially in Kentish antiquity, there were present on that occasion:—

The Viscount Sydney, Lord Lieutenant of the County; The Marquess Camden, K.G., President; The Earl Amherst; Viscount Falmouth; The Hon. and Rev. Sir F. J. Stapleton, Bart.; Sir Brook Bridges, Bart., M.P.; Sir Walter James, Bart.; Sir Walter Stirling, Bart.; The Venerable the Archdeacon of Maidstone; The Rev. Professor Stanley, Canon of

Christ Church, etc.; Alexander J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq., M.P.; James Whatman, Esq., M.P.; G. Wickham, Esq., Mayor of Maidstone; G. P. Ackworth, Esq.; Rev. J. L. Allan; Rev. F. St. Leger Baldwin; F. Barrow, Esq.; J. H. Baverstock, Esq.; Captain Belfield; W. H. Bensted, Esq.; H. Blandford, Esq.; Rev. W. Moore Brabazon; J. Bruce, Esq., V.P.S.A.; Rev. G. Bryant; M. Bulwer, Esq.; Rev. E. K. Burney; Rev. F. Buttanshaw; W. Clayton, Esq.; Mr. C. J. Cooke; J. Crosby, Esq., F.S.A.; F. Dashwood, Esq.; E. G. Culling Eardley, Esq.; Rev. W. Edmeades; E. Foss, Esq., F.S.A.; J. Fry, Esq.; Rev. C. Harbin; B. Hatch, Esq.; A. Havers, Esq.; J. Hodson, Esq.; Rev. J. Hooper; Rev. W. Horne; Edward Hussey, Esq.; Rev. A. C. Jenkins; Mr. Kaddwell; Rev. W. Keith; Dr. King; W. Lambard, Esq.; Rev. J. Latham; R. B. Latter, Esq.; Rev. E. H. Mac Lachlan; Rev. W. Smith Marriott; Mr. J. Marsh; Rev. J. J. Marsham; C. Mercer, Esq.; Rev. H. Milligan; Rev. G. B. Moore; J. Monckton, Esq.; W. A. Munn, Esq.; G. W. Norman, Esq.; The Rev. M. Onslow, Rural Dean; Rev. C. Parkin; Dr. Plomley; Rev. Beale Poste; C. Powell, Esq.; Rev. J. C. Robertson; J. Rogers, Esq.; J. Savage, Esq.; Rev. T. Sikes; W. Masters Smith, Esq.; Colonel Stanton; J. Steele, Esq.; Rev. H. Stevens; N. E. Stevens, Esq.; W. J. Thoms, Esq., F.S.A.; Rev. J. F. Thorpe; T. Thurston, Esq.; E. Twopeny, Esq.; Rev. R. Vincent; T. Webster, Esq., R.A.; Alderman Whichcord; J. Whitehead, Esq.; L. D. Wigan, Esq.; H. A. Wilde, Esq.; Rev. D. Winham; Dr. Woodfall, etc. etc. etc.

Several Ladies also honoured the Society by attending the Meeting, viz. :—

The Countess of Abergavenny; Lady Mildred Hope; Viscountess Nevill; The Honourable Lady Stapleton; Mrs. Betts; Mrs. Mercer; Mrs. Wigan; Mrs. Randall; Miss Wickham; Miss Acworth, etc. etc. etc.

At one o'clock the Chair was taken by the Marquess CAMDEN, K.G., President of the Society, who spoke as follows:—

Before I call upon the Secretary to read the Report of the Committee appointed to revise the Articles, and to lay before

you the best means of carrying on this Association, I would beg permission to congratulate you, not only upon the large assemblage which I see here this day; but also, upon the great success which has attended the formation of the Society, the Members of which already number about five hundred.

It is also a matter of congratulation that there should be so many ladies present today, and that such a large number of them are among the Members of the Society, because I am sure that they will be very instrumental in promoting its welfare; and many of them will assist it by recording with their pencils the features of old buildings and other ancient objects of interest. The formation of Societies similar to this, in many other counties of England, has been attended with great success, their researches contributing in no small degree to a truer knowledge of the history of past ages, and awakening an interest in the preservation of the relics of old times. I can see no reason why the same success should not attend your efforts, especially as Kent is a county which, for its ancient buildings, is not surpassed in the whole kingdom,—a county which can boast of such cathedrals as Rochester and Canterbury,—of such ancient remains as are to be found at Richborough, Dover,—and of such baronial mansions as those of Knole, Cobham, Leeds, and Penshurst.

Before I sit down, I wish to communicate to the Meeting that I have received letters from the Earl of Darnley and Sir Walter Riddell, regretting that severe indisposition prevents their attendance today, and from Earl Stanhope, Mr. Deedes, M.P., Wykeham Martin, Esq., M.P., and Mr. Knatchbull Hugessen, M.P., who are detained in London by Parliamentary business.

I will now call upon the Secretary to read to you the Report of the Provisional Committee.

The Rev. LAMBERT B. LARKING, the Honorary Secretary, then read the following Report, and the Rules as recognized by the Committee, as at p. xiii. :—

“ By a reference to the Resolutions passed at the original Meeting for the formation of our Society, you will be reminded that a Special Committee was formed, to whom certain duties were assigned. In pursuance of this charge, the Committee immediately after their nomination issued a large number of circulars to those in every part of the county who they supposed might be favourable to the objects

contemplated; and they have much pleasure in reporting that their applications have been so successful, that before the close of the year they had enrolled nearly four hundred and fifty Members; and at the present moment, in little more than six months from its formation, the effective strength of the Society exceeds five hundred Members. Of these, no less than thirty-nine have shown their desire to make it a permanent institution, by becoming life subscribers of £5 each; and fourteen individuals of high literary distinction have honoured the Society by permitting their names to be enrolled as Honorary Members—many of them, further, promising contributions to our projected publications.

“In pursuance of the instructions they received, the Committee have held various meetings, at which they have taken into consideration the Rules of the Sussex Archæological Society, as originally adopted by us, with the view of judging whether any alterations therein were expedient for the management of this Society; and they beg to report that they have suggested some few alterations therein, and additions thereto, which they conceive will be conducive to the success of the Society, and likely to prove more effective in furthering its objects than if the Rules had been left altogether in their original form. These alterations and additions the Committee have consolidated in the Rules which they have appended to this Report, and which they now submit to the Society for adoption.

“In the performance of these duties the Committee have necessarily been obliged to incur some expenses, the account of which will be laid before this Meeting, together with a balance-sheet showing the present state of the Society’s finances.

“Although a very large amount of subscriptions are still unpaid, yet, in order to avoid any delay in the prosecution of the Society’s undertakings, and in full reliance on the immediate receipt of the arrears of subscriptions now due, arrangements have been made, subject to the sanction of this Meeting, for the issue, soon after the Annual General Meeting in the summer, of the Society’s first volume, which, from the papers already supplied, and those which are promised, the Committee feel confident will do honour to Kentish antiquaries, and at once establish the character of the Society as an effective and zealous promoter of the science of Archæology.

“The Committee have further to report to you that the Committee of the Charles Museum have offered to our Society the use of rooms, with the services of their Curator as assistant-secretary, provided that we are willing to contribute £25 per annum for the same. They have readily accepted the offer, subject, however, to the sanction of this Meeting.

“The Committee have also the gratification of reporting that

James Whatman, Esq., M.P., William Oxenden Hammond, Esq., and the Rev. Beale Poste have kindly consented to act as Auditors for the year.

“Messrs. Randall, Mercer, and Co., of Maidstone, and Messrs. Hammond and Co., of Canterbury, having consented to receive our deposits, the Committee recommend that they be appointed Bankers of the Society.

“Although the accounts of the Society will not necessarily be audited and presented till the Annual General Meeting takes place, yet, as it may be satisfactory to subscribers to have some information on the present state of our finances, the Committee beg to lay before the Meeting the following general summary of receipts and expenditure up to the present day, leaving the particular details till the annual audit:—

	£	s.	d.
Receipts	329	1	6
Expenditure	59	19	3
Leaving a balance in hand of	£269	2	3

“Of this sum £195 must be funded, being the amount of thirty-nine life compositions.

	£	s.	d.
Balance at Mercer and Co.'s	217	8	1
Balance at Hammond and Co's	51	14	2
	269	2	3
Deduct Life Compositions	195	0	0
Balance available for current expenses	£74	2	3

“As far as our present returns show, two hundred and twenty-three Members have not yet paid their subscriptions. These, when paid, which we may expect immediately, will produce £111, to be added to the £74 as above, which will make our available balance for current expenses £185.

“It now only remains for the Committee to congratulate you on the auspicious prospect before you. These congratulations are founded not so much on your numerical strength, large though it be, as on the hopes which may well be entertained of the hearty co-operation of all your learned and distinguished Members, with the young and ardent among you who have yet to win their renown in elucidating the antiquities of our county and in promoting the science in whose cause we are enlisted.

“In conclusion, they present to you their Report, trusting that

the results of their mission may be deemed satisfactory, and obtain your approval and confirmation.

“CAMDEN, President.”

Viscount SYDNEY (the Lord Lieutenant), in moving the first Resolution, said:—

Although I am not the right man in the right place to take a leading part in the proceedings of an Archæological Society, yet, however unworthy I may be, I trust to profit by the learning and experience of the distinguished men I see around me. I may, without fear of contradiction, remark that you have commenced operations this day most auspiciously; and I trust that you will adopt the Report unanimously. It shadows forth a prosperous future. Not only is our list of Subscribers numerically large, but many of them are distinguished by learning and profound Archæological knowledge. The advantage that the county of Kent will derive from the existence of such a Society as this will be found in the opening of men's minds to the observation and knowledge of what our ancestors have in former days effected, and in the improvement in taste which we may anticipate from the development and investigation of historical remains, abounding as they do to such an unlimited extent in this county.

I think you will agree with me that our gratitude is due to those gentlemen who have taken so much trouble and interest in the formation of the Society, and to whom the county is assuredly much indebted. The Report of their proceedings, and the Rules for the government of the Society, which have just been read to us (and which, of course, can be modified, if necessary, at any future Meeting) appear to me to meet the views and requirements of the Society, and to merit your unanimous adoption,—a result which I fully anticipate in proposing the first Resolution.

“That the Report just read, be adopted, with the Rules for the government of the Society which are appended thereto.”

[Carried unanimously.]

Earl AMHERST, in proposing the second Resolution, said:—

I have the honour to propose a Resolution which adds several names to the list of Vice-Presidents. There are also one or two

names already published as Vice-Presidents, which it is necessary to submit to this Meeting for re-election, in consequence of an alteration of the Rule which stated that all Members of Parliament who subscribed, wherever they might reside, should be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents. In the revision of the Rules, it has been thought better to limit this privilege to proprietors and residents in the county. The Resolution, therefore, which I now submit to you, includes the name of the Hon. Thomas Mostyn, M.P., who has no residence in the county, and that of Sir Edward Dering, Bart., who has ceased to be a Member of Parliament since the first list was published, but who it is very desirable, for many reasons, should be among our Vice-Presidents. As so many gentlemen who have a more extensive knowledge of Archæology than I can boast, have to address the Meeting, I shall conclude by at once proposing the Resolution which has been placed in my hands.

“That the following gentlemen be elected Vice-Presidents of the Society :—

The Very Reverend the Dean of Canterbury.

The Very Reverend the Dean of Rochester.

The Venerable the Archdeacon of Maidstone.

The Venerable the Archdeacon of Rochester.

The Hon. Thomas Mostyn, M.P.

Sir Edward Dering, Bart.

Sir Norton Knatchbull, Bart.

Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson, Bart.”

[Carried unanimously.]

Sir BROOK BRIDGES, in moving the third Resolution, said :—

Most of us who are gathered together on this interesting occasion, have been accustomed from our earliest years to congratulate ourselves in belonging to one of the most important counties in England. We have always felt proud of being “Men of Kent,” and I am astonished, not that we have met together on this occasion in such numbers, but that a Society of this nature has not been formed long ago. In ancient times Kent occupied a prominent position on many important occasions. In the time of the Saxon Heptarchy, Kent itself was one of the seven kingdoms,—a distinction possessed by no other county. With all the interesting materials scattered

throughout the county, too many for me now to enumerate, it certainly is surprising that the formation of such a Society should have been so long delayed,—a circumstance which is probably attributable to the fact, that “what is everybody’s business is nobody’s business.” Nobody attended to that which everybody occasionally displayed great interest in. For the establishing of this Society, we are deeply indebted to my friend Mr. Larking, to whom our thanks are due, not only for his previous exertions in the cause of Archæology, in which he has displayed great ability and skill, but particularly for the interest which he has taken in this Association. It must be manifest that such a Society as this depends upon those who take an active part in its operations; they will have to devote a large portion of their time to it; they will require considerable judgment and discrimination; and in proposing the appointment of the twenty-four gentlemen named in the Resolution as our Council, I shall only be paying them a fair and proper compliment in saying that I am sure they will discharge their duties to the satisfaction of the Members. You will observe that great care has been taken that there should be a fair distribution of those selected for the Council all over the county.

It is manifestly most desirable to secure the co-operation of gentlemen in different parts of the county who are likely to devote their time and attention to local objects of interest, and who already possess considerable knowledge on these points.

As many gentlemen are dependent upon the rail for their return, I will not detain you longer, but at once propose the Resolution which has been entrusted to me:—

“That the following twenty-four gentlemen be requested to act with the President and Vice-Presidents and Honorary Secretary, as Council of the Society.” [Names as at page xi.]

[Carried unanimously.]

ALEXANDER J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, Esq., moved the fourth Resolution, and spoke as follows:—

I am sure that all of us here must have been struck with the truth of what Sir Brook Bridges said, that the only wonder is, that Kent has so long lagged behind, while so many other counties were founding associations of this sort, instead of

hurrying forward and being the first in the field to incorporate by its united voice a body of its faithful and devoted sons, sworn together to preserve the records of its glorious past. This growing feeling in favour of the science of Archæology—growing, I say, although it has already spread far and wide, and struck its roots deep into the ground—is one of the most pleasing signs of these days. The antiquarian is not now, as in the times of our grandfathers, made the subject of the witless jests of every booby who had nothing to do but to crack his jokes against those who were wiser and better than himself. Now in these “days of progress,” as they are called,—now that our advancement in science has gone ahead beyond the example of any former times,—there has, as it were, providentially grown up by the side of that bold and daring spirit of development a feeling of admiration for what is good and beautiful of past times—a desire to preserve, to chronicle, and to record all that we can cull from the past. This seems implanted in us side by side with our aspirations after progress, in order that, while our posterity may reap the utmost benefits of the learning and intellect of our day, they may also know the progressive stages by which our present knowledge, our present growth in science, have been attained. To this end we have founded this Society; and when we remember what the county is in which it has been founded, we cannot but foresee a rich crop of golden treasures to reward our husbandman’s care. Kent is that county which in our history earliest looms through the mists of long-forgotten ages,—that district of Britain the first known to the civilized world by the invasion of Julius Cæsar and his landing on its shores,—that county which, from his day downwards, has ever played a prominent part in the history of England: Kent, which yields us fruits of antiquity as long ago as the Druidical times in that curious monument which exists within a few miles of this spot, Kit’s Coty House,—which, coming down to the times of the Romans, supplies us with the ancient structure in Dover Castle and the Roman city, for such it was, of Richborough,—which furnishes us with Norman monuments in the cathedral of Rochester, and of a grander style of architecture in that of Canterbury. In this county also we have ancient manor-houses of the most important period of English domestic architecture, already alluded to by the Noble Chairman. Kent, in those days, contained in itself the Manchester, the Wol-

verhampton, and the Bradford of modern times, producing the grey cloth which clothed the hardy yeomen of England, and the ironworks which supplied her traders with that most useful metal. All those who have travelled through the towns and villages of the Weald, will have observed traces of this in the old manors and farmhouses which abound in that part of the county of Kent, and indicate the time when the abundance of timber had created a peculiar style of architecture—quaint, graceful, and beautiful—the remnants of which are still objects of interesting study, and the features of which this Society no doubt will record. Upon the number of interesting old churches in Kent I need not dilate. Then, again, there is that branch of antiquity which has reference to traditions, to legal privileges, and to various rights and usages which can be most fitly studied in a district where one of them—the law of gavel-kind—has existed from the times of the Saxons until the present day. This county also has a large number of corporate towns, and the records they possess will, no doubt, yield a large store of treasure to those who may undertake to unravel them. With respect to architectural antiquities, I need not dwell upon them, assembled as we are today in one of the most curious of those ancient buildings which abound in this county, and which, having been fortunately preserved through the chances of time, has now become the receptacle of the County Museum, itself being one of the greatest curiosities of that Museum. It cannot be said that our county has been heretofore neglectful of its antique relics. I believe that Lambarde's 'Peregrinations through Kent' is one of the oldest county histories extant, and it is still of great value. At a later date, Hasted's 'Kent,' written at the close of the last century, is the most full of matter, and one of the most valuable works of its class; and we have now one of our Members collecting materials for a still more elaborate and valuable county history. Upon Canterbury Cathedral we have several valuable works. Dart's history of that cathedral is a work of great research, and one of standard authority. In later days we have that ingenious treatise of Professor Willis on its architectural history; and still more recently the picturesque essays of one whom, although he has been but a sojourner among us, we all cherish and respect—Canon Stanley. These are only the records of one building in one town; but there are many other boroughs which have had

their local annalists, and have enlisted from time to time the patient research of those who have felt it to be a duty to preserve a record of the fleeting day before it is altogether lost. But something more than these isolated efforts is required. The spirit of copartnership must be called into action—there must be an interchange of ideas—a mutual communication of researches and of theories—in order that what is valuable may be sifted from what is merely visionary and worthless, except in the eyes of its own too ardent and partial discoverer. For a work of that sort a Society of this kind is required, and I am glad that we have at length girded up ourselves to the good work of establishing it. Most fortunately, at the same time that we came forward to do that, the good borough in which we are assembled made a similar effort, by founding the Charles Museum for the antiquities of Kent; and I am happy to see that, by a generous spirit on both sides, an arrangement has been made by which the two institutions will mutually subserve to the interests of each other; so that, while this Museum becomes the head-quarters of this Society, our meeting here will give value and reality to the collection of antiquities found within this building. There is one word which I do not see in this Resolution, but which I am sure was in the minds of those who drew it up. This Resolution calls upon Members to contribute original papers, drawings, etc. Under that “etc.” is concealed something which is more valuable than all the original drawings in the world—I mean photography. The invention of this art gives a new life and a new meaning to the study of Archæology. The very best drawing is infinitely inferior to the realities of any building; and many of the most interesting questions may hang on what no draughtsman’s skill can give—some peculiarity in the geology of the material, something in the masonry, some small change in the tone of the material. Now all these things come within the range of photography—that art which tells the truth, whether we wish it to be told or not. Artists “were deceivers ever,” whether depicting fair ladies or old buildings, but photography is the honest friend who always comes out with the whole truth. Therefore I hope that while people obey this Resolution by sending original papers, they will contribute the “etc.”—namely, photographs—before they contribute drawings. Indeed, any building, of however little value, if it be but a farmhouse of a hundred

and fifty years old, or one of those substantial buildings of bright red brick, with stone quoins, and a little pediment over the door, of the time of Queen Anne—ought to be photographed. It may not be of sufficient value to be kept standing, but there are few of these old buildings which have not something about them worthy of preservation; and if the Members of this Society, each in his own district, will procure photographs of any such building or curiosity—and particularly not to allow changes to be made without first obtaining an accurate photograph of buildings as they were before the alterations were commenced, as well as any interesting discoveries made in the process of the change which future progress may conceal, and at its ultimate completion, in order to guard against future change—we shall have such a mass of genuine, truthful, unquestionable archæological photographs as the world never before possessed. Photography has given a new life to Archæology, and so I trust that this Society will not fail to make that use of its resources which it would be a shame and disgrace to it not to do. I now beg leave to move the Resolution which has been placed in my hands, viz. :—

“That the Honorary Secretary be requested to solicit Members of the Society, and others distinguished for their learning in Archæological science, to contribute original papers, drawings, etc., with a view to their preservation among the records of the Society’s operations, as well as their publication and subsequent distribution amongst the Members.”

[Carried unanimously.]

The Rev. W. M. SMITH MARRIOTT, in moving the next Resolution, said :—

Although I cannot pretend to any knowledge of Archæology, I have a great respect for all that pertains to “the olden time,” and shall have great pleasure in doing all that lies in my humble power to assist a Society which refers so usefully to bygone days. The present are said to be days of *progress*. It is impossible to deny it. We boast of “the march of intellect;” and though far be it from me to speak lightly of that presumed march, I am not sure that we have not reason to be afraid that too much of our boasted knowledge is superficial: just as in our modern system of travelling we speed so fast that we miss many beauties which gave great pleasure to our ancestors.

We certainly are prone to be over-proud of modern achievements, and to suppose that those who have gone before us knew nothing. Now if this Society—the inauguration of which we are met in such numbers to celebrate this day—should teach us that our forefathers really were not totally ignorant, and not to suppose that “no doubt we are the men, and wisdom will die with us,” perhaps it will have the good effect of making us a little more humble and more truly wise.

In architecture, for instance,—a subject which will form one of the studies peculiarly belonging to a Society such as this,—our ancestors, I suspect, knew as much as ourselves, and probably a good deal more. We need not go back to the classic times of Greece and Italy; but if we confine our view to our own country, we shall find many grey old specimens of exquisite beauty, worthy studies for our best architects and painters; and one of the latter I now see near me (T. Webster, Esq., R.A.), whose pencil could do ample justice to the beauties of such a structure. It has been said, that however much the buildings of the past may excel in the picturesque, they cannot be compared with modern structures for comfort and convenience. I admit that. But I contend that our ancestors knew well how to build abodes suitable to the times in which they lived, suitable in magnificence to the stern grandeur of the period, and that our old English barons, with their trains of feudal retainers, had acquired in their festive halls and strong towers the knowledge of combining a splendid hospitality with due security. They have left us, too, ecclesiastical edifices, not in ruins, but still existing in their pristine glory—far excelling all the erections of the present day. If we look merely at the exterior of some of our noble cathedrals; let me mention two: (I except Canterbury, in our own county, which has already been eloquently commented on.) I will mention two which afford examples in different styles, not to be surpassed in the world,—Salisbury and York,—whether we regard the light and beautiful elegance of the one, or the noble grandeur of the other; and if, when we have delighted ourselves sufficiently with the contemplation of the wonderful proportions of the exterior, we pass the portals and behold, entranced, the varied and solemn beauties of the interior,—the clustered columns, the interminable vista of exquisite arches stretching far away until the view is lost in the bewildering play of light and shadow reflected

from the beautifully painted windows, with feelings of reverence in our hearts, although we at the same time may admit that the great Deity can be acceptably worshiped by His people where there is no canopy but the heavens; yet we are constrained to use the sublime language of the old Patriarch, and cannot help exclaiming, "Surely this is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of Heaven!" and the feelings of our souls find vent in the warmest prayer,—

"Long may our spiry abbeys, high cathedrals, stand!
The arks of God! the bulwarks of the land!"

Many churches have recently been erected, at which we may well rejoice; and though of course the first object is to obtain the means of public worship for the people, it is still an important though a secondary consideration that they should be constructed in a style worthy of the solemn service for which they are built, and worthy in some degree of the great Being to whom they are dedicated; and in this respect it is gratifying to admit that better principles than once prevailed are now generally acted upon, and the ecclesiastical architecture which most pleases the eye is undoubtedly that which is borrowed from the models of former days. Nothing shows more our obligations to bygone taste and skill than the modern term "restoration" as applied to the work now going on in many of our parish churches. I recollect being a few years ago in a church undergoing this process, and observed a notice emblazoned on the walls in a kind of triumphal wreath, to this effect: "This church was repaired and beautified in 17—;" and the beautification consisted in daubing the walls and pillars with whitewash, blocking up a splendid arch, and completely hiding a magnificent western window. A friend who was with me made this observation: "When these restorations are complete, the proper inscription will be, 'This church was unbeautified anno Domini 1850.' "

With regard to sculpture also, which is so closely united with architecture: though we may be justly proud of the works of some of our own sculptors, yet they invariably succeed best when they most closely adhere to the noble works left by the artists of antiquity. I remember, some years ago, when taking a tour amongst other scenes of interest, I visited the seat of that eminent antiquary, the late Sir Richard Colt Hoare, and whilst walking in his beautiful grounds, suddenly came upon a

statue which riveted the attention of my untutored eyes. I found it was the statue of Livia Augusta, brought from Herculaneum; and the impression made upon my mind was, how proud might an artist of the present day be, could he produce such a work as this, chiselled by a hand cold in the grave for more than two thousand years! In all ages of the world, one of the keenest pursuits is that for gold. I know not whether the present is more distinguished in this respect than others, but I am certain it is not less so; and I believe if the Arch of Titus stood in the way of the worshipers of gain, it would be no more respected than old Temple Bar, which I grieve to hear is to come down because it a little impedes the traffic towards the head-quarters of Mammon, the City of London. Steam is the great innovator. I do not mean to depreciate its use; but it is no respecter of antiquity. In our own county it has ruthlessly swept from the earth the remains of the old Priory at Tunbridge, and the Castle would have shared no better fate had it happened to stand in the way. In a county with which I am well acquainted (Dorsetshire), it was with great difficulty that the relics of a splendid Roman amphitheatre were wrested from the "appropriation clause" of a railway company; and memory, in calling back the patience and courage of the venerable martyr awaiting his fate from the wild-beasts of the Circus, and shuddering not at their roar,—memory, I repeat, would be put to the blush on the same spot in hearing the shrieks and groans of a much more powerful monster, the railway engine.

I have not pretended to treat this subject in a scientific manner. I leave that to others much better acquainted with the matter, and especially to my worthy friend, our excellent Secretary, who has spared neither time nor exertion, nor the ability which he eminently possesses, in forming this Society, and in bringing it so successfully to the inauguration of this day; and with reference to the Resolution which I have the honour of proposing, from his Archæological knowledge is well calculated himself to compose a work which would reflect equal honour on the name he bears, on the science of which he is so keen an admirer, and on the county to which he belongs.

I cannot sit down without congratulating you, my Lord Marquess, and all here assembled, on the formation of a Society which will effect much if it only teaches us to acknowledge the

obligations which we owe to Antiquity ; and if it should convince some precocious youth of New England who assumes the *toga virilis* before he comes to years of discretion, that his grandmother really was not ignorant of that problem which he takes upon himself to teach her, before he was born.

I thank this great Meeting for the courtesy with which they have listened to my crude remarks, and beg to submit the Resolution I have proposed for their adoption :—

“That, in compliance with the foregoing Resolution, and in conformity with the wishes expressed by the Committee in their Report, every effort be made for the publication of the first Volume of the Society’s Transactions before the 1st of next September ; and that each Member be entitled to one copy thereof, provided his subscription be not in arrear.”

[Carried unanimously.]

The sixth Resolution was proposed by G. WARDE NORMAN, Esq., who said—

A Resolution has been placed in my hands which I have great pleasure in submitting to the Meeting. Its object is to suggest the propriety of establishing a special fund for the purpose of defraying any extra expense which might be beneficially employed in the woodcuts and engravings required in the illustration of the Society and publications. Any contributions towards this fund would of course be voluntary.

In order that a Society such as ours should create a widely extended interest, and enrol in its ranks a numerous body of subscribers, embracing, as we hope ours may, persons of various conditions as to station and fortune, it is essential that the ordinary subscription shall be moderate in amount. The sum proposed in our Rules is fixed in conformity to this consideration, and might suffice for the necessary expenses of the Society, including the publication of a yearly Volume of very modest pretensions ; but it would undoubtedly be insufficient for the production of a volume in point of typography and illustrations such as the Kentish Archæological Society would wish to present to its Members and to the Public.

It seems to me, then, that we adopt a wise course in appealing to the liberality of those who may feel disposed to add to the ordinary income of the Society by contributions in addition to their subscription, with a view to increase the usefulness and

attractiveness of its publications; and I feel convinced that I shall carry with me the general opinion of the Meeting, when I submit to it the formal Resolution which I hold in my hand.

Before I sit down I will venture to say a few words with respect to the general objects of our Society.

Some persons seem to consider Archæology as a mere matter of amusement, indeed, of trivial amusement, and that it possesses no actual value in its influence on the mind, and has no tendency to make those who study it wiser and better. Such, however, was not the opinion of a man who was himself not only wise and great, but also good. I allude to Dr. Johnson, who thus expresses himself in his 'Tour to the Hebrides,' after describing the island of Iona: "To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible, if it were endeavoured; and would be foolish, if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses; whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me, be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue! That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona."

I can add nothing to this eloquent passage, and will conclude by saying that I have obtained much pleasure, and some advantage, by the slight attention I have been able to bestow on the monuments of the past; and that I look forward with pleasure to the increased knowledge which I hope to obtain under the auspices of the Kent Archæological Society.

The Resolution which I have to propose is this—

"That in order to enhance the value and interest of the Society's publications, a fund be established, to be supported by voluntary donations and subscriptions, for the special purpose of supplying woodcuts, engravings, etc., for the illustration of papers that may appear therein; and that all the Members, whether contributors to this fund or not, shall have an equal right to these embellishments."

[Carried unanimously.]

The Venerable B. HARRISON, the Archdeacon of Maidstone, in moving the seventh Resolution, said—

I feel it a privilege to move *that the first General Meeting of*

this Society be held at Canterbury; and I am sure that the Dean and my brethren of the Chapter will give you a hearty welcome to our ancient Cathedral. My friend Mr. Larking will confirm my statement, when I say there are several new antiquities (if I may venture so to designate them) lately brought to light in the Cathedral, and which have never been noticed in any history. Connected as I am, by the office I hold, with the parish churches of a large part of this county, a department of its antiquities to which scarcely any reference has yet been made, I cannot but express the great gratification I feel, that a Society has been formed which will help to preserve the literary, antiquarian, and artistic memory of those sacred and interesting edifices.

It is my duty to see to the maintenance and preservation of the material fabric, and I cannot but regard our churches as the best and most important legacy we can leave to those who come after us, even as they have been handed down to us by our forefathers.

The Resolution which I have the honour to move is—

“That the First Annual General Meeting of this Society be held at Canterbury, on or about the 29th day of July next.”

[Carried unanimously.]

Professor STANLEY (who had arrived but a few minutes previously, and on being introduced to the Meeting by the Noble Chairman was received with loud cheers) moved the eighth Resolution, and said—

Though I am just upon the point of leaving Kent, and therefore cannot be expected to feel such an interest in this Society as I otherwise might have done, yet I sincerely wish that its efforts may be attended with every success, and that it will be a benefit to the county at large.

Let me speak of it—first, in connection with Archæology, and secondly, in connection with Kent.

Nothing impresses the mind with the reality of past events so much as visiting the localities with which any historical incidents are connected, and on visiting the spot in Canterbury Cathedral where Becket was murdered, that terrible tragedy is presented in all its vividness to the imagination of the beholder. Many things in history which now are perplexed and doubtful

would have been rendered clear, had the places in which the circumstances occurred been preserved ; such as the complicated and difficult story of the Gowrie conspiracy. I have always felt, that had Gowrie House been preserved, we might have unravelled doubts which now can never be made out to the end of time. The importance of societies like this is especially manifest at the present time, when such extensive changes are taking place in all parts. As Sir Francis Palgrave observed to me only a few days since, this spirit of change is rapidly obliterating all the relics of olden time, like a deluge sweeping away all the landmarks of the past ; and the preservation of some record of these antiquities is becoming more and more important.

Secondly. In position, Kent has always struck me as being more distinct, its boundaries more strictly defined, than any other county of England. The whole pyramid of our island rests, as it were, upon two corner-stones, Kent (which denotes "corner") being upon the east, and Cornwall upon the west. England became first known to history by the visits of the Phœnician merchants to the Cornish coasts for tin, as mentioned by Herodotus ; and Kent, which occupied a still more important position, as being in closer proximity to the Continent, received the Roman legions,—its name being the only name of a county yet in existence which was pronounced by the mouths of Julius Cæsar and his Romans. Subsequently it was the landing-place of Hengist and Horsa and their Saxon warriors ; and then of St. Augustine, on a more peaceful mission : and thus Canterbury, almost by a mere local accident, became the seat of the English Primacy (and, in the Middle Ages, might be considered that of the Prime Minister also), a distinction which it has retained down to the present time, its history being thus invested with an interest not possessed by any other place in England.

I am addressing you under very great disadvantage, having only this instant arrived, and though in complete ignorance of what may have been said by previous speakers, I just throw out these few remarks to indicate the direction in which important researches may be made ; for, after all, as Bacon said, if we know how to ask questions rightly, we have got the best half of human knowledge.

The Resolution which I have to propose is this :—

“That the cordial thanks of our Society be given to the Committee of the Charles Museum, for the readiness with which they have advanced to associate themselves with us, by offering the use of their rooms, and the services of their Curator as Assistant-Secretary to our Society; that, in accepting their offer, the Honorary Secretary be requested to express to them an assurance of the gratification which we anticipate in the maintenance of an intimate and cordial union with them, and in the mutual advantages which that union will ensure.”

[Carried unanimously.]

The Mayor of Maidstone (GEORGE WICKHAM, Esq.), in moving the ninth Resolution, said—

I cannot but express my sense of the great compliment paid to the members of the Committee of the Charles Museum, in the Resolution which has just been unanimously passed by this Meeting, and by the manner in which they have been thanked for the proffered use of their rooms, and also for the offer made by this Society of contributing towards the salary of a Curator, whose services will be required by both institutions. Some two or three months since, it was my good fortune to preside, in this room, at a similar meeting, consequent upon the public spirit of Mr. Charles, in bequeathing his collection of antiquities for the benefit of his fellow-townsmen, and also upon the public spirit of the inhabitants, in placing themselves under Ewart's Act for the formation of a free library. It was a most gratifying meeting, and shadowed forth that which has this day been realized: the cementing and binding together the local institution of the borough with the larger institution of the county. I am sure that every effort will be made in Maidstone to forward the interests of the two institutions; and I have no doubt that ultimately this Society will reflect honour upon the county in which it has arisen.

I have now to propose a Resolution thanking Mr. Bland for his gift of the antiquities found on his estate—the remains of a Roman villa.

The words of this Resolution which has been placed in my hands, are these:—

“That the cordial thanks of this Society be given to William Bland, Esq., of Hartlip Place, Sittingbourne, for his kind and liberal donation of Roman antiquities.”

[Carried unanimously.]

Sir WALTER JAMES, Bart., as the tenth Resolution, moved a vote of thanks to two gentlemen for their contributions to the library of this Association; in the course of which he said—

It is of the utmost importance that the Society should possess an adequate and well-chosen library. And none will be more valuable than a good assemblage of county histories. I believe that the price of Archæological books is very much upon the increase in this country, one of our greatest rivals in the book-market being America. Indeed, if Thackeray may be believed, the Americans have manifested a greater interest in the Archæological curiosities of their mother-country than we have done ourselves. It is a subject of congratulation, however, that a different spirit is now growing up, and that we have amongst the Members of this Society men who feel a pleasure in preserving the remnants of the past. Distinguished among these is Mr. Beresford Hope. To him we owe the preservation of the Abbey of St. Augustine's, which, at the time he purchased it, was devoted to the purposes of a public-house. I will not say anything of the glorious and benevolent purposes to which it is now devoted in the promotion of the Christian faith; but, looking at it in the lower light of its Archæological interest, in giving our thanks to various gentlemen for their efforts in aid of the Society's objects, we must not omit to thank, also, the Honourable Member for Maidstone, for having preserved one of the most beautiful specimens in Kent of ancient ecclesiastical architecture.

With your leave I will now move the tenth Resolution.

"That the thanks of this Society be given to Joseph Howard, Esq., and Alfred J. Dunkin, Esq., for their contributions to the library."

[Carried unanimously.]

The Noble Chairman—

Although it is not recorded in any special Resolution, I am sure that you will all heartily concur with me in ratifying the remarks which have been made by the last speaker (Sir Walter James) with reference to one of our most distinguished Members, Mr. Beresford Hope. I am sure, also, that you will not find fault with me if, before I sit down, I take the opportunity of proposing that we record upon the Minutes of this our

Inaugural Meeting our best and most cordial thanks to our excellent Secretary, Mr. Larking. I am sure that all who have the pleasure of knowing him will bear witness with me to the indefatigable efforts which he has made in the formation of our Archæological Society for Kent. To the science of Archæology Mr. Larking has devoted himself, not only in this matter, but it has engaged his attention and talent all his life; and I am sure that you will join with me in congratulating ourselves upon having such an able Secretary, and that you will record amongst your votes this day your most cordial thanks to Mr. Larking. I propose therefore, as a last Resolution,—

“That the thanks of this Meeting are due, and are hereby tendered to the Rev. Lambert B. Larking, for his invaluable services in the formation of this Society.”

[Carried unanimously.]

The Rev. L. B. LARKING, in returning thanks, said—

My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—If I could have anticipated your Lordship's kind proposal, or the way in which you, Ladies and Gentlemen, have received it, I should have come prepared to acknowledge it in better terms than I now can attempt. It has come upon me most unexpectedly, and I can only now assure you that I thank you from my heart. If I have worked hard, I am amply repaid; for I believe there never has been a similar Society which, in so short a time from its commencement, has enrolled so large a number of Members, or which could among them, in that brief space, enumerate such distinguished names as we can: yet we must not forget that mere numbers do not constitute a Society,—there must be work,—honest, hearty, zealous work. Looking, however, at the list of our associates, many of them highly eminent for their literary labours, I cannot but hope and believe that the fruits which we produce will be abundant and satisfactory. Our younger Members I would specially exhort to ardour and diligence in studying our science; and I would ask them to give us the fruits of that diligence in contributions to our volume, the more numerous the better. If they are diffident from inexperience, I would remind them of a most excellent and interesting publication, which every Member of our Society ought to take in, ‘Notes and Queries,’ a weekly periodical, which will admit short contributions. Try your powers

in describing any interesting relic of the past in your own neighbourhoods, and send the description to that paper; you will soon acquire confidence for greater achievements. But, above all, remember that the sole object of your researches ought to be *Truth*. Have as many theories as you please,—I have had thousands in my time,—but always be ready (as I have been) to discard them at once, even the most long-cherished ones, the moment you find the Truth opposed to them. Without this devotion to Truth, we are nothing but frivolous triflers. There is abundance of material for you to work upon; indeed, throughout the county of Kent there are so many objects of intense interest to the antiquary, that it is difficult at this moment to select any one for special remark. Within a short walk from the spot where we stand, the relics of the past are scattered, thick as the herbage on which you tread, and these, not of one race of conquerors only, but of every successive one that has planted itself here,—Celtic, Roman, Saxon, Norman, or whatever other early races may be named as having, in primeval times, peopled this county. Of the latter period—the Norman, or nearly so—we have close to us Allington Castle, that most interesting of ruins, of which we have actual records dating as far back as the time of Henry II.; in after-times the seat, in successive generations, of the three illustrious Wyats; subsequently of Sir John Astley and his greater relative, that true and loyal cavalier, the Lord Astley; it has finally become the property of a family which can enumerate among its ancestors that most eminent antiquary and loyalist Sir John Marsham, and now represented by a noble Earl who thoroughly appreciates the value of these venerable walls as historical relics, and who has earned the gratitude of antiquaries by sparing them from further demolition. Then, again, we have in this neighbourhood another historical mansion, in whose past we shall find abundant materials for our volume, “Leeds Castle,” famous for having barred out the “she-wolf of France” (Isabel, consort of Edward II.). There are many other similar objects of historical interest, all within a walk, which I have not time to enumerate; and I cannot better conclude than by hoping that you may all share with me in the feelings of the poet (Webster):

“I do love these ancient ruins,—
We never tread upon them, but we set
Our foot upon some reverend history.”

JAMES WHATMAN, Esq., M.P., then rose to propose the last Resolution, and spoke as follows :—

I will now, with the permission of the Meeting, trespass very shortly on your time, by requesting your attention for a very few moments to two points which I think have not been noticed. I will not attempt to enlarge upon them, because our time is passing on, and many of the company will be unable to remain here much longer.

The first point to which I would advert is the publications of the Society. I have this year had the honour to be elected an Auditor of the parent Society, the Society of Antiquaries of London, and in this way it has come to my knowledge that the expense of the publication of the Society's most valuable work, the 'Archæologia,' has been in some years very large, and has in fact exceeded the amount which even that Society's comparatively large income would justify. Now this excess has not been caused by the publication, but by the illustrations to the work. Every contributor of a valuable or interesting Paper is naturally anxious that it should be well illustrated, and the Publishing Committee are equally anxious to embellish their work, and to render it as important and complete as possible; I would therefore suggest that those amongst us who are most ambitious for the publication of their contributions, should either contribute or induce their friends to contribute the expense of the illustrations. In this way our annual volume may be handsomely embellished, the finances of the Society will be maintained in a flourishing state, and each Member will receive a handsome book for his very small annual subscription.

With regard to the other points, we have heard a great deal of the higher objects and considerations involved in the pursuit of Archæology, and therefore I shall not say one word upon them; but I will briefly invite attention to the practical benefits which result from the institution of such Societies as this. These associations are all more or less instrumental in encouraging a desire for, and in promoting, the progress of education, and that improvement of which we are still much in need. Until lately England was considered, in works of art connected with taste, to be far behind her Continental neighbours, but that distance is diminishing, and the opening of the Great Exhibition, the Crystal Palace, the Manchester Exhibition, the

Government Schools of Design, and exhibitions of art in various parts of the country, have produced a better state of things, a better understanding of merit in matters of taste, and a more just appreciation of excellence and beauty; and whilst this improvement has opened greater means of enjoyment to the multitude, it has been of no small advantage and encouragement to those who depend upon trades and professions so far as they are influenced by the development of taste.

In giving assistance therefore to such institutions as this, we are aiding that general progress and improvement which have already made considerable advance in our country, which will aid in still further developing her great resources.

It now only remains for me to propose a Resolution, in which I feel that I may anticipate your hearty concurrence; it is—

“That the cordial thanks of the Society be given to the Most Honourable the Marquess Camden, K.G., our President, for his kind and valuable exertions in completing our organization, and especially for the services he has rendered us in personally presiding at this our Inaugural Meeting.”

The Marquess CAMDEN, in acknowledging the compliment, said—

Although I cannot pretend to possess much knowledge of the science of Archæology, yet I shall have great pleasure in becoming the pupil of Mr. Larking, and will do my best to learn its mysteries. Being, as I am, a member of the Sussex Archæological Society, and seeing what has been effected in that county, I have long desired to have a similar Association established in Kent, and it has afforded me great gratification to see how well the Society has commenced its operations. I will make one observation in conclusion, viz. that if our Society's publications can be exchanged with those of other Associations of this nature, the value and interest of our library will be greatly increased; and I hope that we shall find that other Archæological Societies will readily co-operate with us in establishing an interchange of our respective publications, and in united efforts for the furtherance of the science.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The first Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at Canterbury, 30th July, 1858. It was attended by—

The Marquess Camden, K.G., President; The Ladies Frances and Caroline Pratt; The Countess of Abergavenny; The Hon. Ralph Nevill; The Lady Caroline Nevill; The Hon. Thomas Lloyd Mostyn, M.P.; The Lady Augusta Mostyn; The Earl Stanhope; The Earl and Countess of Darnley; The Earl Amherst; A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq., M.P., The Lady Mildred Hope, and party; The Hon. James Byng; The Hon. Mrs. Byng; The Hon. and Rev. Sir Francis J. Stapleton, Bart.; The Hon. Lady Stapleton; The Misses Stapleton; The Hon. Florence Boscawen; Lady Mansel; The Misses Mansel; Sir Brook Bridges, Bart., M.P.; Sir Norton Knatchbull, Bart.; Sir Walter Stirling, Bart.; Sir Walter James, Bart.; Sir Charles Locock, Bart.; James Whatman, Esq., M.P.; J. Warre, Esq., M.P., and family; The Very Rev. the Dean of Canterbury, and family; The Ven. Archdeacon Harrison, and family; The Rev. Canon Stone; The Rev. Canon Chesshyre; The Rev. Professor Stanley; The Mayor of Canterbury; J. Wingfield Stratford, Esq.; J. 'Espinasse, Esq.; J. Savage, Esq., and family; Admiral Marsham, and family; Edward Rice, Esq.; Arthur Pott, Esq.; Joseph Ridgway, Esq., and family; Rev. W. Smith Marriott, and family; Alderman Salomons; G. W. Norman, Esq., and family; Matthew Bell, Esq.; J. Nasmyth, Esq., and family; C. Powell, Esq., and family; W. Cook, Esq., and family; F. Swann, Esq., and family; The Mayor of Rochester; George Dering, Esq., and family; J. Crosby, Esq.; Rev. J. C. Robertson, and family; The Rev. G. B. Moore, and family; The Revs. M. Onslow, J. M. Rice, J. Riddell, Jacob Marsham, Dr. Welldon, G. Rashleigh, Tatton Brockman, and more than three hundred others, members and friends.

The MARQUESS CAMDEN, K.G., President of the Society, took the Chair at the Guildhall, at eleven o'clock.

On the Table were exhibited:—1. A large collection of Saxon Relics, Fibulæ, Horse-trappings, etc., of extreme

beauty and rarity (for an account of which we refer our readers to Mr. Roach Smith's Paper, and its accompanying illustrations, in the present Volume). They are the property of W. Gibbs, Esq., of Faversham, by whose assiduous exertions these most valuable relics were discovered and preserved. 2. A Saxon Spear, Umbo, Tweezers, and Drinking-glass, discovered in widening the road at the foot of Wye Downs, and exhibited by permission of J. Sawbridge Drax, Esq.,—whose property they are as Lord of the Manor of Wye. As well as—3. A Saxon Spear-head, found by the side of a perfect skeleton, in an excavation made by C. Roach Smith, Esq., and the Honorary Secretary on Wye Downs, in May last. 4. A very beautiful and rare specimen of a Saxon Drinking-glass, excavated at Westwell, on the property of Miss Chapman, who had kindly sanctioned the purchase of this relic for the Society through the instrumentality of Thomas Thurston, Esq., our active and zealous Local Secretary at Ashford. 5. A splendid Gold Necklace, and other Roman relics discovered in a tomb at Southfleet, in 1801, were exhibited by Rev. G. Rashleigh, Rector of Horton Kirby. 6. A most curious Gold Medieval Armillary Ring, by E. Reader, Esq., of Sandwich; it consisted of eight rings, one within the other, each having a portion of the following sentence engraved upon it.

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------|
| 1. Riches be un- | 5. Love wil |
| 2. stable and bevy | 6. ever last til |
| 3. wyll decay | 7. Death dryve |
| 4. but faythfull | 8. It away. |

7. W. Gibbs, Esq., and Mr. Kadwell, each contributed various Rubbings of Brasses from Kent Churches. 8. A Charter of the Earl of Huntingdon, husband of Juliana de Leybourne, temp. Ed. III., was exhibited by J. J. Howard, Esq. 9. T. Willement, Esq., exhibited some beautiful drawings of mural paintings recently discovered

in Faversham Church. 10. The Honorary Secretary exhibited a collection of Anglo-Saxon and Norman and other Charters, Monastic Accounts, etc., of the ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, including an Autograph Letter of William of Wykeham, with some beautiful specimens of early Seals, chiefly from the collection at Surrenden.

The Noble CHAIRMAN opened the business of the day by warmly congratulating the Members on the flourishing condition of the Society:—

Although the Society (said his Lordship) has been in existence little more than ten months, the members already number six hundred. While, on the one hand, so strong an interest is thus exhibited in the study of Archæology, on the other, the Society is most fortunate in possessing a singularly favourable field for their investigations. At the Inaugural Meeting at Maidstone, it was observed by Professor Stanley, that Kent was the corner-stone of England. The county is peculiarly rich in memorials of the past. In its ancient cities, many valuable remains of former times exist, and furnish matter of study for the historian and the archæologist, while in its fertile fields, continual discoveries are made of relics of its former inhabitants; there are many of them of very ancient date and surpassingly interesting. It is the great advantage and merit of societies like this, that they preserve, for public instruction, these valuable objects which would otherwise be lost or destroyed. Upon this subject I am much tempted to speak further, but as a very short time only can be afforded for this morning's meeting, I will not detain you by many more observations. I only regret that you have not one more worthy than myself to preside over you on this occasion; but my duties are greatly lightened by the circumstance that the Cathedral, with the many objects of high interest it contains, will be shown to the Meeting by one who, to our great regret, has been lately lost to this city and county, but who is gone to perhaps a wider sphere for his abilities,—I mean Professor Stanley. Mr. Beresford Hope will accompany you to the Monastery of St. Augustine's; you will see the ancient Church of St. Martin, under the guidance of the Reverend the Rector, Canon Chesshyre,

and Richard Hussey, Esq.; and the Castle, the Walls, and the Gates of the City, under that of Frank Masters, Esq.

The Noble PRESIDENT having read letters of regret for unavoidable absence, from Viscount and Viscountess Falmouth; Lord Talbot de Malahide; W. Deedes, Esq., M.P.; C. Wykeham Martin, Esq., M.P.; The Hon. H. Butler Johnstone, M.P.; and the Provost of Oriel, Canon Hawkins,—called upon the Honorary Secretary to read—

THE REPORT.

“Three months only having elapsed since the last General Meeting (at Maidstone, April 14), there must necessarily be very little to report of the Society’s proceedings; yet the Report, such as it is, is indicative of successful progress.

“A Meeting of the Council was held on the 10th of June, at the residence of the Marquess Camden, in Carlton-house Gardens. It was very fully attended, and transacted much important business.

“At this Meeting, the appointments of the Honorary Members, Local Secretaries, and Trustees were confirmed. Directions were given for the investment of the Life Compositions, amounting to £205, in the New Three-per-Cent. Stock—which has since been done. A Committee of Management, consisting of The Dean of Canterbury; The Mayor of Canterbury; The Archdeacon of Maidstone; The Rev. Canon Chesshyre; E. Foss, Esq.; The Rev. J. C. Robertson; The Rev. J. Wrench; M. Bell, Esq., (Mr. Foss being Chairman,) was appointed to direct the proceedings of the Annual Meeting, which was fixed for the 30th of July.

“It was resolved that a volume of Transactions be forthwith printed in royal 8vo, by Mr. J. E. Taylor, Little Queen Street, London.

“The South Kensington Architectural Museum and the Kilkenny Archæological Society were taken into union.

“Twenty-nine candidates were elected, by which the number of Members admitted since our establishment in September, 1857, amounts to 561. We have at present the names of 41 candidates for admission on our books. Should they be elected, the number will then have reached 600—all elected in less than a single year. Some deduction, however, must be made from this amount by deaths, etc. We have to lament the loss, since September, 1857, of John Brenchley, Esq.; W. C. Kingsford, Esq.; The Rev. F. Barrow; The Rev. G. Boissier; T. Starr, Esq.; and T. Carnell, Esq.

“With regard to our funds, we have £212. 2s. 10d. New Three-per-Cent. Annuities purchased with the above-mentioned £205. The accounts will be audited, and a balance-sheet printed in our first Volume. The Auditors not having yet been appointed, it has been found impossible to present these accounts in detail at this Meeting: it will be sufficient to state that our Bankers’ books show a balance of £140.

“The printer is fast progressing with our first Volume. We have also to report that contributions to the amount of £60 have been made to the fund for providing illustrations for the Volume, and we hope that this sum may be largely increased at the present Meeting, that we may be enabled to produce a book which shall do honour to the county.

“It is a great gratification to report that presents of books have been made by various members, which will be gratefully acknowledged by the Council when they next meet, and will form a nucleus for the intended library of our Institution.

“Thus, with an available balance in hand, and the second year’s subscriptions being very shortly due, our finances may be considered in a prosperous state: and in every point of view the Society may congratulate itself on its present position and prospects.

“Encouraging as this state of things is, it must not be forgotten that every energy will be requisite in all our Members to bring the Society into that state of permanent prosperity and usefulness which we hope it will in succeeding years attain.”

The Hon. J. M. Byng was then elected one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society. J. Savage, Esq., and J. N. Dudlow, Esq., were appointed Auditors. The existing Council was re-elected; John Bruce, Esq., V.P.S.A., being substituted for Albert Way, Esq., who, owing to his being a non-resident in the county, had expressed a wish to retire; and forty-one new Members were elected.

The noble President next submitted a list of twenty-one Papers which had been already received or promised, by—The Rev. Professor Stanley; E. Foss, Esq., F.S.A.; R. Hussey, Esq., F.S.A.; R. Blencowe, Esq.; T. Willement, Esq., F.S.A.; The Rev. Beale Poste; C. Roach Smith, Esq.; Major Luard; C. Wykeham Martin, Esq.; and the Honorary Secretary.

But as most of the company (observed the President) are, doubtless, impatient to go over the Cathedral, under the able guidance of Professor Stanley, I shall only desire one to be read, viz. that which has been kindly sent to us by C. Roach Smith, Esq., on the beautiful relics which we see before us.

Major MUNN accordingly read the Paper, which it will be unnecessary to repeat here, as it is printed in full, with its illustrations, in the present Volume.

After the reading of this highly interesting Paper,—

Thanks were voted to the Mayor and Corporation of Canterbury, for the accommodation they had given to the Society in the use of the Council Chamber and Guildhall;

To the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, for their cordial welcome to the Society;

To the Directors and Managers of the South-Eastern Railway Company, for the liberal accommodation they had afforded to the Society by granting special trains at a reduced expense;

To the Exhibitors of the splendid and curious relics produced this day, viz.—Rev. G. Rashleigh; W. Gibbs, Esq.; T. Thurston, Esq.; T. Willement, Esq.; C. Kadwell, Esq.; J. J. Howard, Esq.; E. Reader, Esq.; and the Honorary Secretary.

Thanks were then voted to the Marquess Camden, for his kindness in taking the Chair on this occasion, on the proposal of A. P. Andrews, Esq., seconded by Sir Brook Bridges, Bart.

After a few words of acknowledgment from The Very Rev. the Dean and the Noble Marquess, the company proceeded to the Cathedral, through which the Rev. Professor Stanley, author of the ‘Historical Memorials of Canterbury,’ was announced to conduct them.

The Rev. Professor, accompanied by the Very Rev. the Dean, first took his stand in the chapter-house. After a brief description of that beautiful building itself, and calling attention

to the work of restoration now going on, he conducted the company first to a position in the cloisters, where they could realize the rush of the monks into the cathedral when the knights were in pursuit of Becket, and thence went into the 'Martyrdom' itself. Mr. Stanley traced the course taken by the Archbishop from the palace, when he was obliged, by the urgent entreaties of the monks, to take refuge in the cathedral. Half-carried, half-drawn, the Archbishop was borne along the northern and eastern cloisters, crying out, "Let me go—do not drag me," until at last the door of the lower north transept of the cathedral was reached, when the monks from within, who had been disturbed at their vespers, cried, "Come in, come in, and let us die together." The Archbishop refused, saying, "Go and finish the service; so long as you remain in the entrance I shall not come in." The monks immediately fell back a few paces—Becket entered the cathedral, the door was closed and barred, and he was in the act of resisting the solicitations of those about him to move into the choir for safety, when a loud knocking was made by the frightened monks without. He immediately darted back, calling aloud as he went, "Away, you cowards: by virtue of your obedience I command you not to shut the door—the church must not be turned into a castle." With his own hands he eventually unfastened the door, and drew the excluded monks into the building, exclaiming, "Come in, come in—faster, faster!" The Professor having passed into the cathedral by the same door through which Becket entered, the company collected in the 'Martyrdom,' when he observed that this spot, which ever since the year 1170 had been called the 'Martyrdom,' had a very different appearance then from that which it now presented. At that time the architecture was entirely Norman, and great changes had since taken place in the arrangement. The Deans' Chapel, then called the Chapel of St. Benedict, was rather smaller than at present, and there was another chapel above it, called the Chapel of St. Blaise. St. Michael's Chapel, in the south transept, still presented a similar arrangement. Between the walls there stood a pillar supporting a gallery, which probably communicated with the Chapel of St. Blaise. There were two flights of steps, one in the same place where the present flight existed, and one in the corner opposite the door. When Becket entered he was met

by the monks coming down the latter flight of steps from the altar, where service had been going on. Immediately afterwards they perceived the knights following him, and they all fled except four, who renewed their entreaties that he would escape; and they persuaded him to go up the stairs for the purpose of secreting himself in the roof; but the object of the Archbishop was to seat himself in the patriarchal chair, in which he and all his predecessors from time immemorial had been enthroned. He had reached the fourth step when the knights entered. At this time of the year (the 29th of December) the days were short, and in the twilight (the pillar above described being in the way) the knights did not at first see him. Reginald Fitzurse shouted out, "Where is the traitor?" When Becket did not reply, he asked, "Where is the Archbishop?" and Becket replied, "Here am I; no traitor, but the Archbishop and priest of God—what do you wish?" He had but one monk with him, for the others had made their escape. The knights at first attempted to carry him out, in order to avoid committing sacrilege, which they evidently considered a greater crime than murder. The Archbishop clung to the pillar, and successfully resisted their efforts. In the struggle he used some violent language to Fitzurse, who drew his sword and struck him. The others also fell upon him, and the last blow, which was upon the head, and laid bare the scalp, was given by Richard le Bret, with such force that the sword snapped in two on the marble pavement. The Archbishop fell on the spot occupied by the stone near the wall, which is pointed out to visitors, and from which a square piece has been cut, according to tradition, for transmission to Rome. Certain it is that the Pope sent legates to procure relics of the murder, in order to the Archbishop's canonization, and they were to bring away the handkerchief stained with blood, which is yet preserved at Rome, with the stone on which the brains were scattered. The Professor had seen the handkerchief at the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, at Rome; and whether the stone now on the spot was there at the time of the murder or not, at all events its position exactly accorded with that of a tall man falling from the pillar, as had been described. A small wooden altar was erected some years afterwards against the adjoining wall, and this probably caused the rumour of St. Thomas having fallen by the high altar, the only "altar" which was thought

of at that time. The morning after the murder, the knights having sent word to say that if the body were not taken away they would drag it through the town, the monks buried it in the crypt, where it remained for fifty years. The Rev. Gentleman then slightly alluded to other topics of interest in the 'Martyrdom,' to the tomb of Archbishop Peckham (temp. Henry III. and Edward I.), and that of Wareham, Cranmer's predecessor, who died at St. Stephen's, and to the Deans' Chapel, where the Deans are buried.

Professor Stanley next proceeded to the crypt, and having taken his stand in the circular portion, resumed his narrative. He regretted that Professor Willis was not present to describe the alterations which had been made in this part of the cathedral. Time did not allow him (Professor Stanley) to enter into architectural details, and he must, therefore, content himself with referring his hearers to Professor Willis's book. The first part of the crypt was, however, in much the same state now as on the night of the murder. There always did exist a crypt in the cathedral, and it was remarkable as being the earliest crypt in England. The Saxon cathedral built here by St. Augustine was modelled from the old church of St. Peter at Rome, and the crypt was thus a direct imitation of the catacombs at Rome, in which the early Christians took refuge from their persecutors. The body of St. Thomas Becket was buried behind the Chapel of the Virgin, very much in the spot where he (the speaker) was standing. A shrine was built in the first instance with apertures through which the coffin containing the body might be seen, and hither for fifty years the pilgrims flocked. Here also was the scene of the penance of Henry II., who on this spot received three hundred lashes or more from the monks. The circular portion of the crypt was built to support Trinity Chapel, in which the shrine of the Archbishop was placed, as nearly as possible over the spot where his body was buried.

The company next assembled on the steps leading to the choir, where the Professor pointed out the various monuments in the aisles. The south transept now presented the same arrangement of steps as in the north transept on the night of the murder, and St. Michael's Chapel the same arrangement of a smaller chapel above as then existed in the Chapel of St. Benedict.

Proceeding into the choir, the Professor called attention to

the monuments severally, entering into highly interesting historical details. He then passed into Trinity Chapel, and indicated the spot where the shrine of St. Thomas was placed—immediately in the centre of the platform. Some idea of its appearance might be obtained by looking at the shrine of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey, which was the only shrine now existing in England. Here the pilgrims came and ranged themselves before the shrine, and on some of the flagstones might be seen marks of the places where they must have knelt. The only contemporary representation of the shrine in existence was in one of the adjoining windows. The Archbishop was there represented as looking out upon one of the patients who came to be cured. All the designs in these windows represented supposed miraculous cures. The first historical personage buried here after St. Thomas Becket was Edward the Black Prince, whose Will existed, and from that Will every particular of the tomb itself might be verified. The Professor described the various memorials of the Black Prince, and the remaining tombs in the chapel, including that of Henry IV., who was the only king that had been brought to Canterbury for sepulture.

The company then proceeded outside the cathedral, to what was formerly the great quadrangle or court of the monastery, where Mr. Stanley concluded his interesting address. In closing his remarks the Professor said he did not know why the Dean or Archdeacon Harrison should not rather than himself have undertaken the duty which had that day devolved upon him, but the request having been made to him, he could not resist the pleasure of renewing, though for so short a time, his associations with scenes which he had always regarded with so deep an interest. He would now “break his wand,” and resign it to the Dean for all future occasions.

The Marquess CAMDEN felt sure he should anticipate the wish of every one present in proposing their heartiest thanks to Professor Stanley for the very eloquent address he had so kindly delivered. He had said that he would break his wand, but he (the Marquess) was sure the Dean would be happy to receive it unbroken. In conveying their thanks to Professor Stanley, they

could not avoid expressing their regret that he was no longer an inhabitant of the county of Kent.

The Very Rev. the Dean, in the name of the company, tendered his hearty thanks to Mr. Stanley, and expressed a hope that he would, on many more occasions of the sort, be pleased to conduct them to see the beauties of the glorious cathedral.

From the Cathedral, the company passed to St. Augustine's, where Mr. Beresford Hope gratified them with a luminous and detailed account of the early history of the Monastery, its subsequent desecration, and the recent restorations so munificently completed by himself.

Having taken up his position on the terrace, on the north side of the quadrangle, in front of the students' dormitory, Mr. Beresford Hope first treated of the history of the abbey, and then proceeded to describe the process of restoration, and the present condition of the building. St. Augustine, who arrived here in 596, and whose first convert was Ethelbert, King of Kent, founded here, without the city, the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul for the sepulture of the abbots and kings, intramural interment being then, as it had under a recent enactment become, illegal. In the course of time the abbey gradually assumed the name of its founder, and as it increased in opulence, it stood for some time in opposition to the cathedral, both in the grandeur of its ornaments and the number of monks who inhabited it. It was the eighth Archbishop of Canterbury who first gave up being buried here and chose the cathedral. Mr. Beresford Hope pointed out the site of the great abbey church, which had all the attributes of a cathedral, of Ethelbert's Tower, of the great refectory, etc. etc. A few years ago certain foundations of the refectory were in existence, by which means the crypt was accurately restored. An accurate gauge was then obtained of the apartment above, and thus the whole building was raised on the plan of the old one, and now formed the library of the college, the windows in the new library being copied from those of Mayfield Palace, in Sussex, a building about contemporary with the gateway.

Mr. Beresford Hope then led the way round the various buildings, describing each in its turn. In the course of his

remarks he referred in highly complimentary terms to the ability of Mr. Butterfield, under whose direction the restorations were made. One side of the quadrangle, appropriated to the students' dormitory, was original, and was a worthy monument of Mr. Butterfield's genius. The pavement was remarkable as containing encaustic tiles which were an exact copy of some found in the crypt. Though this portion of the building stood on fresh ground, there was doubtless in former times a range of buildings parallel to it, though at a greater distance. The principal mass of the western side, including the great gateway, the hall, and kitchen beneath, and the chapel, were either untouched, or restored so closely as to render them objects of archæological interest. Further to the south, on the west side, came the warder's lodge and the fellows' buildings, which were perfectly new constructions, but built in strict architectural harmony with the older portions. In its present aspect the whole building resembled one of the colleges of the Universities—and these were a class of buildings which in their general distribution had a family likeness to the ancient monasteries: in the one, as in the other, the church or chapel, the refectory, the library, and the various lodgings, composed the different buildings, which were usually grouped round one or more quadrangles. Besides, in the imperfect state of commerce then existing the monasteries were compelled to have great storehouses, brewhouses, etc., not from habits of excess, but because modern facilities of purchase did not then exist. Of the chapel (standing over a crypt which itself was on the ground-level), which was originally the "guest chapel," some portion was original, including the western triplet in the Early-English style. In devoting it to its actual destination it was made about half as long again as it originally had been, and in building the rest the middle style of Gothic, which was well known to be the most perfect style, had been adopted. All this was Mr. Butterfield's work. The stained glass was executed by Mr. Willement, a member of the Society,—who might be claimed as a "man of Kent." The stalls, in two ranges on each side, recalled the arrangements of college chapels and cathedral choirs. The pavement under the altar was a literal copy of that under the high altar of Fountains Abbey, in Yorkshire, which, although the abbey itself was in a very ruinous condition, still existed. Passing to the college hall adjoining,

which stood at the top of the same stone staircase as the chapel, Mr. Beresford Hope remarked that this was originally the refectory for the guests. The roof was original, and in other respects the appearance of the hall was so little changed, that in this they had an actual specimen of the dining-hall of an abbey or the house of a great lord, which were much alike at that day. It had been converted into a tavern, and miserably disfigured, but indications remained by which the windows were accurately restored. Proceeding to the ruins of an external wall, which was formerly the internal wall of the north aisle of the nave of the abbey church, Mr. Beresford Hope said that this was a palace in the time of Charles I., and here it was that he first met his queen, Henrietta-Maria. She was married abroad by proxy, as was the custom then and now with crowned heads; she made her progress and met the King here, and this was the first palace that ill-fated sovereign of ours ever occupied in England. The style of this fragment was early Norman, and no doubt closely resembled the original nave of the cathedral as built by Lanfranc. Passing the ruins of Ethelbert's Tower, which formed one of the side towers of the nave of the abbey church, and proceeding through the library, where, as he remarked, there was still room on the shelves for the contributions of friends, Mr. Beresford Hope entered the crypt of the old refectory, now used by the students for their workshops—a knowledge of carpenters' work being very useful for a missionary. The crypt had been exactly restored, with the exception that the groins had been filled in with red brick, in order to give a little warmth of colour. Before separating, the company proceeded to inspect the students' dormitories, which were remarkable for their neatness and convenience, and finished by perambulating the ancient boundaries of the monastery.

Mr. Beresford Hope, in the course of his interesting explanations of the wonderful restoration of the monastery, exhibited an encaustic tile, forming a sun-dial, found near St. Ethelbert's Tower. It was encased in an oak frame carved from a beam of the ancient 'Chequers' Inn, and was presented to the college by Mr. Pout.

A large number of the company went to contemplate the cradle of Christianity in these islands, St. Martin's parish church. Mr. Chesshyre pointed out the numerous

Roman bricks to be seen in many parts of the church, and especially in the walls of the chancel, which are almost entirely built with them—the tomb of Queen Bertha in the recess on one side of the chancel, the baptismal font of King Ethelbert, etc. The church is now in excellent condition, thanks, alike to the liberality and the good taste of a member of the Society, the Hon. Daniel Finch: its lich-gate, its plain nave and chancel, with the pointed roof and low square tower, overgrown with ivy, and its commanding position above the city, all obtained special notice from the party.

A third party, under the guidance of F. Masters, Esq., inspected the ruins of the Castle, of which only the keep remains. The immense strength of the edifice, the part of the old moat still remaining on the southern side, the loopholes on the ground and first floors (like those of Rochester Castle), the windows on the second and third floors (also like those at Rochester), were all lucidly pointed out by the guide. From the Castle, the party went to inspect the remains of the old walls and city gates, which run from Dane John to Northgate almost without break. The portions of the walls which show patches of Roman brickwork were carefully marked. Westgate, of course, occupied a considerable share of attention. Built by Archbishop Sudbury in the reign of Richard II., and the only one of the six city gates which still remains, its noble appearance between two lofty round towers erected in the river, its battlements, machicolations, and portcullis, were much admired by the strangers.

During the afternoon, numerous parties, by the kind courtesy of Mr. Pout and Mr. Wood, visited the 'Chequers' inn in the High Street, mentioned in Chaucer as the resting-place of the pilgrims who came to visit the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket. The gentlemen, in whose occupation is this curious relic of a past age,

were most obliging in leaving their business to conduct their visitors over the sleeping-room of the pilgrims. The 'Chequers' was built in the form of a quadrangle, with an open courtyard; the suites of rooms projected in front over each other, and were supported by pillars forming a colonnade. The vaulted ceiling under Mr. Wood's shop was found to be perfect, and in the same condition as in Chaucer's time.

Divine Service was performed in the Cathedral at three o'clock, every seat being occupied from the stalls to the altar. The music selected was from Kentish composers.

At half-past four the Dinner took place, in the Music Hall, St. Margaret's; three hundred and ten were accommodated at the tables; above one hundred more were disappointed of seats, owing to their not having given timely notice of their intentions to dine.

The Marquess Camden was in the Chair, supported on his right by the Countess of Abergavenny; The Mayor of Canterbury; Lady Caroline Nevill; The Earl of Darnley; Honourable Ralph Nevill; A. B. Beresford Hope, Esq., and Lady Mildred Hope, etc. etc.; and on his left, by the Countess of Darnley; The Dean of Canterbury; Lady Augusta Mostyn; Earl Amherst; Earl Stanhope; Hon. T. Lloyd Mostyn; Archdeacon Harrison; Professor Stanley, etc. etc. etc.

Our limited space will not permit our giving all the admirable speeches that were made, on the removal of the cloth; we must necessarily confine ourselves to those which touched upon the more peculiar objects of the Society. Among them—The Venerable Archdeacon HARRISON, in returning thanks for himself and the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Clergy, said—

I am sure it would have given his Grace great satisfaction to have been present among us this day; to have seen the interest taken by such numbers of members in the proceedings

of the Society ; and how it promises to be one more effectual bond of union between the clergy and laity of his diocese. The cordial co-operation of those two classes, which compose the Church, we all of us feel to be our privilege, our strength, and our happiness. There is much, in the several duties devolving upon the clergy, to cause us anxiety and trouble ; and it is most refreshing to receive from time to time evidence that our labours have not been in vain. I am, beyond doubt, expressing the sentiments of many of the clergy when I say that it is a refreshment to them from time to time to do as they have done this day—to come to the metropolitical city, to meet their brethren from all parts of the diocese, refresh themselves with the recollections of past times, and so gather fresh strength for the duties of the future. They are connected by their office with a large number of most interesting edifices, sprinkled all over the country—the ancient parish churches of the land : and they have not only a great interest in preserving them in their integrity, and repairing whatever has fallen to decay through the lapse of time, but they also derive great encouragement from the spirit shown in respect of them, not only in repairing what needs reparation, but also in the good will and good sense by which the restoration is most happily carried on ; so that the new shall be in harmony with the old. I have the satisfaction—and I speak in the presence of many of the clergy of my own archdeaconry—of saying that I can point from parish to parish where the work of restoration is being, or has been, happily carried on ; nor will I be withheld by the presence of the noble Lord in the chair from expressing my satisfaction at one of those parishes, which shows in the present state of its church, the munificence and good taste which he possesses. One word more before I sit down. The restorations and improvements are carried on so constantly and rapidly, that sometimes the public chroniclers can hardly keep pace with them. I happened to send an official Guide of the South-eastern Railway to my friend Mr. Stanley, who told me that he had been studying it on his journey, and it mentioned a circumstance which I will repeat, because it shows that official Guides are not always infallible authorities. There was a church, it was stated, of very picturesque exterior, but the interior beauty of which was utterly destroyed by its ornaments. In it were to be seen images of Fame and Justice, more suitable to a Grecian

temple than a Christian church. The official Guide spoke of all these as still in existence : but I am happy to be able to inform all archæologists, as I informed Mr. Stanley, that, though the Guide had only appeared a few months ago, the images of Fame and Justice have long disappeared. I need not say that, though from the parish church in question the representations of Fame and Justice have been banished, the church is none the worse ; and I feel assured that the work of restoration, on the soundest principles of archæology, would continue to make progress through the country.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE, in proposing the health of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, said :---

I am sorry to begin, my Lord, with an act of insubordination, and to dissent from the Chairman as to my fitness to undertake this task. At the meeting this morning at the Guildhall, the Dean called us a "very grateful Society indeed," because we returned thanks to the Chapter for kindness not yet shown. But there is no doubt now that these thanks are due, after the way in which the Chapter have received us, and after the lucid and excellent description of the cathedral by one whom, though unconnected now officially with it, we must ever connect with the cathedral of Canterbury. Great service has been done, my Lord, by this Chapter in the restoration, and in the manner of the restoration, of this cathedral. The Chapter have restored lapses and supplied defects ; they have renovated the edifice with a judicious taste ; they have brought it back to its old condition, but they have not made it "spick-and-span-new," like a railway-station. People deserve praise who execute such works by their own trouble, at their own expense, and from motives of affectionate piety. Those, too, who first set the example of church restoration deserve most high praise. Now Chapters are everywhere restoring their cathedrals, and giving a practical answer to the charges of selfishness brought against them. But twenty-five years ago, when this spirit of renovation had not yet been excited, this Chapter restored their cathedral at a cost of tens of thousands of pounds. You have seen that cathedral today,—you have seen the order and decency with which it is kept. One canon only survives, I believe, who witnessed the beginning of the restorations,—but as new men came in, there was no mutability in the spirit

of the body. What was begun by Dean Percy, has been carried on by Dean Bagot, Dean Lyall, and now by Dean Alford. I feel a peculiar pleasure in proposing this toast, because the cathedral Chapter has had for many years most friendly relations with the College of St. Augustine, and their friendliness has been the better appreciated because that college has not been in any way connected with the cathedral. When St. Augustine's College was first founded, people said—"Of course you'll put it in connection with the cathedral; of course the Chapter will have a voice in it." To which we replied—"Of course we will *not* put it in connection with the cathedral; of course the Chapter will *not* have a voice in it." We said this, because the Chapter had its own work to do, which it was doing well, but that the college was a cognate institution, not an identical one, having its own work of a parallel nature; therefore, we decided, let it stand on its own basis, and the cathedral stand on its. The members of the Society will be but blind and cold archæologists if they have regard only to matters of bricks and glass, and to the external *minutiae* of their science, without appreciating its deeper meaning. The restorations of Christ Church, Canterbury, have not been undertaken in order that it may be visited by the sight-seers of a week-day, and the archæologists every three years; but because it is connected with the most famous scenes of English history. It brings before us the missionaries and the kings of the Heptarchy; it is the scene of the labours of Lanfranc and of Anselm, of the struggle between Henry and Becket; the burial-place of Edward the Black Prince and Harry of Lancaster; and there are many other memorable events with which it is associated; therefore we honour the cathedral, and we respect its custodians, whose singleness of purpose and liberality are a pattern to all other Chapters. I have much pleasure in proposing "The health of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, with thanks for their welcome."

The Very Reverend the DEAN returned thanks in the following words:—

My Lord Marquess, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sorry it has not devolved on some older member of the Chapter than myself to return you thanks for the very kind manner in which you have received our health. I am, in fact, the youngest

member of our body ; for that member who is actually younger than myself was among you long before I came to Canterbury. But, as the task devolves on me, in consequence of my office, I willingly accept it. I can assure you that the scene which we have witnessed today in our venerable cathedral has given us infinite pleasure, while it has suggested some remarkable contrasts. When we compare the complaints in the pages of Gostling and contemporary writers, of the non-appreciation of the Gothic style, with the eager enthusiasm of the vast body of intelligent pilgrims who have assembled in it today ; when we remember that in his forlorn plea for the building he is obliged to appeal to the fact that the eyes of the negroes accompanying the rich planters who sometimes visited it, sparkled with pleasure on entering the nave, we may well conclude that public opinion has much changed since that day. We all know the verdict of the age of Pope, and Swift, and Bolingbroke, on antiquarian researches. It is pithily comprised in the epigram—

“ Give me the thing that’s pretty, odd, and new :
All ugly, old, odd things, I leave to you.”

I may say, by the way, that we seem to have inherited not only their legacy to others, but their wish for themselves also. The brilliant assembly of our fair friends around us may serve to show that every gem is not an antique ; that it is not “ ugly, old, odd things ” alone of which archæologists are in quest at their meetings. But, Ladies and Gentlemen, it was very soon afterwards found out, that these “ ugly, old, odd things ” had in them some beauty, and were worth imitating. And so the next generation showed that they had discovered that the “ child is father of the man.” But they did not go on to the sequel of the quotation, of which I will presently speak. They began by child’s play, in Gothic imitation. Then was the age of Strawberry Hill ; of painted windows outside with no windows inside to correspond ; of elaborate toys and costly shams, of which the only successors now are the roughcast pasteboard castles which serve as spill-boxes on the mantelpieces of furnished lodgings. Horace Walpole was not aware that, *because* the child is father of the man, “ our days must be bound each to each by natural piety ; ” that subsequent ages must not imitate, but be founded upon, former ones ; that a much more serious task is before the archæologist than any mere imitation can fulfil. It was

the somewhat exaggerated boast of Canning, when speaking, in a strain of high eloquence, of the intended establishment of the empire of Brazil, that "he had called the new world into existence, to right the balance of the old." Yours, Ladies and Gentlemen, is the converse task,—and I say this in no spirit of rhetorical exaggeration, but in sober earnest,—your task is to call the old world into existence to right the balance of the new. Already we see the scale, so long unworthily held the lightest, descending to us rich with ample treasures of precious information; already art begins to be looked on as never before; already history is written, and history is read, as it never was read or written before. We can read on the volumes, which the descending scale brings to us, the names of Hallam and Milman, Arnold and Grote, Stanhope and Merivale, Froude and Stanley, Campbell and Foss; men who have written history, not for this or that political purpose, not to serve the opinions of this or that Ministry of the day, but as founded on research, and aiming at truth. And I hardly need remind you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that in this archæological revival not even the minutest researches are to be despised. From the hill where we ourselves seem to be standing, we must not only strain our eyes after the distant mountains of classic antiquity, but must examine with all care the important though less interesting level which separates us from them. How do we know, till we have descended and ascertained, whether that far-off spark which we see be the glittering dome of a palace, or the light in the window of a cottage? whether that uncertain cloud which hangs over another portion of the plain be the dust of an advancing army, or the smoke of some powerful mart of commerce? Nothing in these researches is trifling. Every age, in every feature, has that which every other age may learn from—may learn modesty, soberness, wisdom, thankfulness, earnestness, charity. And as for ourselves, Ladies and Gentlemen, we feel it our mission to keep well and faithfully, warily and wisely, the great fortress of history and devotion which has been entrusted to our care, to teach our fellow-citizens and fellow-countrymen that the uses of cathedrals have not passed away. For as the gallant officer who spoke for the army would bear me out, though it may not be requisite that every soldier at every time should be kept at the very highest regulation pattern, yet it is requisite that *some* be so kept, and

always so kept. And it is even thus in the Church. We who have no distracting cares of parochial duty, are set here for a pattern, in a Church which is to be a pattern,—which is to show the full measure and full intent of associated praise and prayer, and exhortation and doctrine. Give us your good wishes, that we may be always found earnest and able for this our duty; that whether we live (as you heard today) under an Archbishop who performed the questionable work of dividing the Bible into chapters, or (as now) under a Commission which is performing, if well done, the better work of dividing the Chapter into Bibles, we may not lose heart nor courage, nor elasticity of action, to fit the wants and duties of the day in which we live. And, more, give us your pious prayers also, that, when we stand with you where all must stand, we may, by God's help, be found to have been, in this our important work, good and faithful servants.

The Rev. Professor STANLEY said:—

I wish the toast I am about to propose had been placed in other hands, being, as it is, the toast of all others most essential to the fortune and prospects of the day. But I feel at least this advantage, that—to use an almost Irish expression—I am both inside and outside of it. On the one hand, I have now no connection with the county of Kent, yet, on the other hand, I feel that I can never be entirely severed from it. I have found the greatest pleasure in showing over the cathedral so large an assemblage as have honoured me with their presence this morning; and I rejoice if any knowledge that I have acquired during my stay in Canterbury, has been productive of instruction or amusement to the members of the Society. In delivering over my wand to the Dean this morning, it was indeed like parting from an enchanted island, where I have passed years of the greatest happiness. The subject of my toast is “Success to the Kent Archæological Society.” This calls upon me to say what are the great peculiarities of Archæology in the present day. My friend the Dean has, indeed, anticipated anything that I could have wished to say; and has spoken to you so ably and so eloquently, that I can scarcely hope to be able to add anything to it: one or two points, however, may be briefly touched upon. In a peculiar sense, Archæology now, for the first time, may be said to be a *general* science,

—a science which has been diffused throughout the whole community. This is peculiar to the times in which we live. Go back to former ages, and there will be found an absence of any considerable reverence for the things of antiquity; whereas the opposite tendency of the present day seems as though it had been specially called out to counteract the other influences which are at work,—the influences of railroads and telegraphs, and all the other effects of a rapidly-increased communication; immense changes, irresistible and inevitable, whose effect, unless counteracted by an opposite spirit, will be to destroy and sweep from the face of the land every vestige of antiquity. But that opposite tendency has been called into existence; it is proved by the universal desire shown for the study of Archæology. If we look back to the middle ages, of which our cathedral is a monument, it is impossible to help reflecting how much more advantageously the study might have been followed then than now, if any interest had then been felt in the venerable objects to us now so dear. I sometimes can hardly forgive the great Lanfranc for having been such a destroyer of the relics of antiquity. If but the same spirit had inspired him, as inspired men now with a reverence for things of the past, might not the remains of the old cathedral founded by St. Augustine have been still in existence? and from them one could have formed some idea of what the first early Christian church at Rome was like, of which Kent's oldest Saxon cathedral was a copy. Then, when I remember how the scene of Becket's murder has been entirely altered, I cannot but reflect how much light the histories of that event might have received could we of the present generation have seen the transept in the same condition as it was in at the time of that event. Now, however, the time is come when a spirit prevails of juster appreciation of the past. It has grown up at the very moment when but for it every relic of antiquity would have disappeared. The bane and the antidote have grown side by side; and in this way we may be able to hand down to future generations the gifts and inheritances we have received from generations of old. And it is impossible not to feel how specially important a field of labour the Kent Archæological Society has opened before it. Of all counties, Kent is the most historically interesting; being as it is the very corner-stone of English history, and particularly of English ecclesiastical history.

Earl STANHOPE (President of the Society of Antiquaries) returned thanks. He said :—

I hope the idea will not, even for a moment, be entertained that from any feeling of jealousy, as connected with another body of antiquaries, I am unable sincerely to congratulate you on the success which has attended the day's proceedings. On the contrary, I feel that the path of Archæology is wide enough for many to travel on it, and I and the Society to which I belong heartily welcome all who are disposed to become their fellow-labourers. I think I have just cause to congratulate you on your first meeting. It would not indeed become me to speak on behalf of so many as I see here assembled; but if I may judge of the feelings of all by what I have heard from the many with whom I have spoken, I will venture to say that the proceedings have been a great enjoyment to all who have taken a part in them. It would have been, in truth, no common delight to any one—and how much more to antiquaries and archæologists—to see the many points of interest with which the venerable city of Canterbury abounds, from the magnificent pile of Christ Church to the ancient castle-fosse and the blooming lime-trees of the Dane John. I have said that in the day's proceedings all have found great enjoyment; and I do not think I need except those, the fairer and the better part of the company, who have honoured us with their presence in such numbers. No doubt many, if not all of them, have hitherto looked upon the study of antiquity as dry and repulsive,—fit perhaps for the library of their grandpapas, but wholly destitute of interest for themselves. I cannot but hope that for the future they will connect the study with a day agreeably passed—when the sunshine beamed on many objects beauteous and noble in themselves, but yet more beauteous and more noble in the recollections they inspired; a day when events long gone by, but whose influence is yet felt, were explained in so lucid a manner by Mr. Arthur Stanley above all, but by others also, that their details could be no longer matter of difficulty to be either understood or remembered. If such are the feelings of the ladies, I will venture to add one word more, and say the best proof they can give that I have rightly interpreted them, will be by honouring us with their company on the next occasion. I cannot but think, too, that their en-

joyment has been of the most profitable description. They cannot but derive many a useful lesson from those silent witnesses of the past—silent as they have been for centuries, and now first taught to reveal the great truths they contain. Thus looking back to the first influence of the Christian faith upon the history of the English nation, who can stand unmoved by the baptismal font of Ethelbert? who but must feel all his chivalry aroused within him when standing at the tomb of the very flower of chivalry, the Black Prince? These are subjects of lasting glory: they awake in the heart that contemplates them feelings that are an honour to human nature, and that should not either remain without some influence in estimating or deciding upon the questions of the present day. Upon these grounds I very much rejoice at the success which has been achieved on the present occasion. It furnishes also an apt scene on which men of all political and religious opinions may meet in harmony, and proves that however numerous the points of difference among us, they are not so many as the points of agreement. I must, in conclusion, beg permission to propose the health of our noble President.

The Chairman briefly returned thanks.

Sir WALTER JAMES proposed "The Mayor and Corporation of Canterbury," and passed a warm eulogium on municipal institutions in general.

The Mayor (T. N. WIGHTWICK, Esq.) said:—

In the name of the Corporation of Canterbury, I beg to offer you our grateful thanks for the compliment which has been paid to us by the Kent Archæological Society. My Lord, gentlemen who have preceded me have been pleased to speak in eulogistic terms of the city of Canterbury, of the facilities it offers for archæological research. It is, as we all know, a matter of congratulation to us to hear the locality which we inhabit spoken of in commendatory language. For, my Lord, as there is a pride of ancestry, so there is a pride of place. And I am sure I shall be forgiven, as a citizen of Canterbury, for entertaining feelings of pride that we can offer in this our city attractions which can invite the attention and command the special attendance of such a scientific assembly as those now gathered around these boards. My Lord, whilst we exult

that Canterbury is rich in legendary lore—whilst we glory that within a small circle of this very spot we can offer specimens of a bygone age, illustrative of almost all that your inquiring minds have, in the investigation of your science, as yet discovered, of themselves tending to bear testimony to the utility of your institution,—we must not and we do not forget that we are, in a measure, indebted to your Society for revealing to us their existence, enabling us, as it were, on the very threshold of our houses to hold converse with the past, and affording to us a daily lesson for our guidance and our profit. It is not for me, my Lord, at this late hour to occupy your time. I will content myself with assuring you how thoroughly you may rely on our hearty co-operation—of our earnest desire to do all in our power to assist in your praiseworthy endeavours. And if, my Lord, we can hereafter lay claim to the smallest portion of the benefit, which we feel convinced you will achieve, we shall be amply rewarded for our exertions.

Before the entire programme of toasts was completed train hour had arrived, and the greater part of the company were compelled to retire.

A very large party, however, remained to enjoy the hospitalities of the Deanery, to which the Dean and Mrs. Alford had kindly invited the Members and their friends.

The beautiful grounds were thrown open to the company, where professional singers were engaged to entertain them with madrigals, glees, etc., from whence they adjourned to the house, where refreshments were served.

Here H. B. Mackesson, Esq., kindly exhibited his unique trumpet found in the sea at Hythe, and believed to be of the fourteenth century.

The beautiful Saxon antiquities, which had only been partially examined in the morning, were again exhibited and leisurely inspected, and elicited the admiration which they merited. Some admirable Photographs, too, of the Cathedral and other antiquities of Canterbury, were exhibited by Mr. Cruttenden, Honorary Pho-

tographer to the Society, and eagerly purchased by the visitors.

At a later hour, some of the party entered the Cathedral, and enjoyed the effect of moonlight upon its windows and tracery, the enjoyment being richly enhanced by the magic effect of Luther's Hymn unexpectedly chanted by unseen performers, which, it was afterwards understood, was a gratification contrived by the Dean and Precentor; thus finishing a day of intellectual enjoyment, such as the county had not before experienced, and which surpassed our most sanguine expectations. It was a day not easily to be forgotten.

KENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Balance Sheet of Accounts from 19th September, 1857, to 19th September, 1858.

<i>Dr.</i>		1857.		1858.			<i>Cr.</i>	
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Sept. 19th.	To Contributions at Mereworth Castle	9	0 0			By purchase of £212. 2s. 10d. new Three per Cent., being 41 Life Compositions at £5	205	0 0
Aug. 9th.	" Payment received for two Dinner Tickets returned therewith unused .	0	8 0			Postage, to this day*	25	12 2
Sept. 19th.	" Subscriptions, Life Compositions, and Contributions to Illustration Fund paid to Messrs. Randall and Co., Maidstone, to this day	368	8 6			Stationery, to this day	7	13 3
	" Ditto, ditto, ditto paid to Messrs. Hammond and Co., Canterbury, to this day	74	0 0			Advertising, to this day*	21	18 1
						Printing Circulars, etc.	37	13 0
						Incidental Expenses at Annual Meeting, Travelling Expenses, Agents, etc. etc.	16	12 1
						" Paid to various Artists on account of Illustrations	28	2 0
						" Lithography of Circulars*	3	15 0
						Balance at Bankers :—		
						Messrs. Randall and Co.	75	14 11
						Messrs. Hammond and Co.	34	14 9
						Deduct unrepresented Cheques	£110	9 8
							4	18 9
							105	10 11
							£451	16 6

Audited and allowed, 29th October, 1858.

JOHN SAVAGE, }
J. N. DUDLOW, } *Auditors.*

* A large proportion of these items of expense was incidental to the first formation of the Society.

124 Subscriptions in arrear, <i>i.e.</i>	£62	0	0
Promised Contributions to Illustration Fund, not yet received	45	10	0
Total available arrears .	£107	10	0

CONTRIBUTIONS

TO THE FUND FOR SUPPLYING ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE SOCIETY'S VOLUME.

	£	s.	d.
Earl Amherst	5	0	0
Marquess Camden	5	0	0
The Earl of Abergavenny	5	0	0
E. G. Culling Eardley, Esq..	5	5	0
Viscount Falmouth	5	0	0
A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq., M.P.	5	0	0
C. Wykeham Martin, Esq., M.P.	5	0	0
G. B. Norman, Esq.	5	0	0
James Whatman, Esq., M.P.	5	0	0
Sir J. Hawley, Bart.	5	0	0
Sir Norton Knatchbull, Bart.. . . .	2	0	0
Lady Knatchbull	2	0	0
Henry Norman, Esq.	2	0	0
Rev. Beale Poste	2	0	0
A. Randall, Esq.	2	0	0
Earl Stanhope	2	0	0
Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson, Bart.	3	0	0
G. B. Acworth, Esq.	1	0	0
Rev. Canon Chesshyre	1	0	0
E. Foss, Esq.	1	0	0
Rev. J. C. Robertson	1	0	0
Rev. F. Wrench.	1	0	0
J. Wingfield Stratford, Esq.	1	0	0
The Very Rev. The Dean of Canterbury	2	0	0
H. B. Mackesson, Esq.	1	0	0
Rev. W. Smith Marriott	1	0	0
Lieut.-Colonel Stanton	1	1	0
J. 'Espinasse, Esq.	2	0	0
Rev. A. Mesham	1	0	0
Charles Devon, Esq.	1	0	0
E. Pretty, Esq.	1	0	0
R. Hussey, Esq.	1	0	0
The Venerable The Archdeacon of Maidstone	2	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Rev. G. Rashleigh	1	0	0
Rev. J. L. Allan	1	1	0
T. Willement, Esq.	1	0	0
Rev. M. Onslow	1	0	0
E. Hussey, Esq., <i>Oxford</i>	0	10	0
Arthur Smith, Esq.	1	0	0
James Crosby, Esq.	1	0	0

Members willing to contribute to this Fund are requested to signify their intentions to the Honorary Secretary.

LETTER FROM THE REV. PROFESSOR STANLEY
TO THE HONORARY SECRETARY.

MY DEAR SIR,

You will, I hope, excuse me if in compliance with your kind solicitations I adopt this very curt and unceremonious mode of redeeming the pledge which I gave, before my severance from the county to which I had the honour to belong when your Society was first formed. The pressure of my present occupations forbids me to enlarge, as I should have wished, on the theme of the Antiquities of Kent. What I now write must therefore be considered rather as a general expression of parting goodwill than as a formal Preface to a volume which needs no such preliminaries.

It has always appeared to me that much light may be thrown upon the history of any considerable country by the minute investigation of the peculiarities of its separate provinces; and to this rule England is no exception, and Kent affords one of its most remarkable exemplifications.

The physical situation of Kent, if I may repeat here what I have before said elsewhere, at once marks it out as a field for such inquiry. The pyramid of English History rests, even in its outward form, on two corner-stones: its western base is Cornwall; its eastern base is Kent. As through Cornwall it first became known to

the older world which preceded Greece and Rome, so through Kent it first became known to Rome, and through that connection first came into contact with the civilization of Europe. If a Cornishman may feel a strange sensation of delight at finding the very earliest appearance of Britain on the stage of history, in Herodotus's¹ hesitating admission of the existence of the Islands of Tin in the Northern Sea, so the man of Kent may enjoy a still more legitimate satisfaction in the knowledge that Kent was the first portion of England that caught the eye of the great General who first brought us within view of the Roman Empire,—the only one whose peculiarities he has distinctly² denoted, the only one which from that day to this has borne its original name unaltered through the vicissitudes of four conquests and eighteen centuries. Already, at that first dawn of our history, Kent is spoken of by Cæsar as the most civilized part of Britain. Already his sagacious eye had noticed the cause in its maritime situation and its affinity to France,—“*Ex his omnibus longè sunt humanissimi qui CANTUM incolunt; quæ regio est maritima omnis, neque multum à Gallicâ differunt consuetudine.*” This brief sentence is the text of the whole History and Archæology of Kent.

Represent to us this antique fragment of our country in its earliest physical features; let us hear all that can be said of the connection of its white chalk cliffs with the peculiarities of poetry, of architecture, and of culture to which they have given birth. Give the etymologies of the *names* of each separate locality in the county, those simple but picturesque monuments which preserve the recollection of historical events and of natural features, often when their memory has perished everywhere else. Show that Kent is our *corner*; explain how the *Stour* is our *Ister*; tell us the true origin

¹ Herodotus, iii. 115.

² Bell. Gall. v. 13.

of *Sevenoaks*; unfold the peculiar fitness and grace of *Chevening*. Represent these ancient hills and valleys to us, further, in their earliest historical, their Celtic state, still traceable, though at remote intervals, by their deep British roads and their scattered cromlechs. Let us have the full advantage of our shores having received the first legions of Cæsar, if our Sussex brethren will still allow us to think so: at any rate, of having sheltered his first permanent settlement, developed into the four Roman fortresses of Richborough, Reculver, Lymne, and Dover. Let us profit by that next invasion to which the easy access of Kent gave occasion, in the erection of the first Saxon kingdom; and if our severer criticism will not allow us to believe in the two brother chiefs, or in the successful resistance to William the Norman, we are still not the less bound to explain and to cherish the relics of Saxon customs and of Saxon antiquities which Kent undoubtedly inherited in no ordinary degree. Nor is it Canterbury alone, but the whole of Kent, which has profited by the ecclesiastical Primacy which its welcome to Augustine annexed to its ancient capital. Lanfranc, Anselm, Becket, Cranmer, furnish the natural links by which our local annals are connected with the chain not only of British, but of European history. Pilgrims' chapels, religious houses, archiepiscopal palaces, baronial castles, are sown broadcast over the county which then contained at once the Sublime Porte and the Mecca of England. Add to these the innumerable vestiges, discovered or undiscovered, of events which grew out of these various peculiarities. Such were our popular insurrections, from Wat Tyler downwards, the results of the ancient, independent, almost national spirit of the "unconquered" horse of Hengist. Such were the visits of our own or of foreign Princes, which were almost the necessary consequence of the neighbourhood of Kent to the Continent; out

of the scanty impressions derived from their visits to England by Louis VII. and John of France, by Manuel of Constantinople, by Sigismund and Charles V. of Germany, Kent occupied a large proportion. The gates which Henry VIII. brought from Boulogne have long ago vanished from Upper Hardres; the walls which sheltered the plot of the Maid of Kent have all but ceased to mark the site of the nunnery of St. Sepulchre at Canterbury. But in family archives, in local traditions, in fragments of wood or stone, in names of places or persons, the traces of these and like antiquities doubtless still linger. There are many chinks still to be filled up in the fabric of our national history, many buttresses still to be strengthened, many pinnacles still to be restored. This is especially the work of antiquarian investigations, of local inquiry. Those only who are on the spot have the means or the will to detect the details or to descend to the foundations of special historical events. Let the Kent Archæological Society do this, having in view both what has been done before and what has not been done, and it will render good service not only to the Archæology but to the History of England.

With every wish for the success of the interesting labours on which you are about to enter,

Believe me to be,

My dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

ARTHUR P. STANLEY.

Archæologia Cantiana.

THE INVENTORY OF JULIANA DE LEYBORNE,
COUNTESS OF HUNTYNGDON.

FROM THE SURRENDEN COLLECTION.

THE Inventories of Executors and Administrators, from the Archives of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and those of attainted individuals, returned into the Court of Exchequer by the escheator, furnish us with evidence the most truthful of the wealth and power, the habits and modes of life of those whose personalties are therein recorded, often in minutest detail. We seem to be at once admitted behind the scenes, to witness all that passed there. “*Sic sese ferebānt*” meets us at every turn, and, in many instances, much illustration, even of the very character of the party, is thereby revealed.

Many of us must have frequently experienced this, in rambling through the rooms where the furniture and chattels of one lately dead are exposed to sale, in the precise state in which they were standing at the moment of departure. It is always a melancholy spectacle, and ought to be an instructive one.

In this point of view, the early Inventories of contrariant and deceased magnates, on which we frequently stumble in our researches, possess the greatest interest; they throw light on the domestic habits of an age of which only the general public history is known, and that often but imperfectly. I have therefore thought

that it will not be unacceptable to our readers if, from time to time, I introduce them, by means of these Inventories, into the abodes of our early Kent magnates. I shall begin with two of very opposite characters,—the one that of a peaceful but powerful lady, the other that of a turbulent Baron. The latter, with its long catalogue of arms, the riding-gear of himself and lady, and the list of the prisoners in his dungeons, I shall defer to our second volume. At present I will admit our readers to the residence of the great Infanta of Kent, Juliana de Leyborne, Countess of Huntingdon, herself, by birth, the heiress of countless demesnes; and being by marriage the mother of one Earl (Pembroke), and the widow of another (Huntingdon), her wealth was unbounded. To her splendid and princely habits of living, in her tapestried halls at Preston,¹ where she kept her state, the following Roll of her effects bears ample witness. Although it unfortunately does not furnish such minute detail as we often find in these Inventories, yet as evidencing the affluence and hospitality of our great Infanta, it claims an early admission to our volume.

The first membrane of the Roll is all that remains to us of this Inventory. Fortunately it is the portion which records the chattels in her house, and on many of her Kent manors. The remainder is lost. By the indorsement, “Rotls. exec.,” “Inventar. Comitisse Hunt.,” it is evident that this is the original Inventory² deli-

¹ Leyborne Castle (which must have been a confined abode, unequal to the power and wealth which the family had now attained) seems to have been resigned as the palatial residence by her grandfather, Sir William de Leyborne, the “vaillans homs sans mes sans si,” who gave it, in his lifetime, to his son Thomas, the father of Juliana. I purposely omit here any detailed notice of this illustrious family, my present object being only to introduce our readers to their mode of life, as indicated by this Inventory. I hope, in a future volume, to give a complete history of Leyborne Castle, (of which many interesting remains still exist,) and its successive lords.

² Every executor or administrator was bound to exhibit to the Bishop

vered to the Ordinary by Juliana de Leyborne's executors, or the duplicate thereof retained by them;—lost, many ages since, from its proper depository, but afterwards happily secured by the research of the first Sir Edward Dering, for his collection at Surrenden. The portion which we have is in excellent preservation, written in the usual form of abbreviated Latin.

For the convenience of the general reader, I have rendered it into English, as literally as the use of modern terms will allow, supplying in foot-notes the original words where it seemed necessary to do so. It is as follows:—

Inventory of the Goods of the noble woman, LADY JULIANA DE LEYBORNE, late Countess of Huntynghdon, wherever they be in England, in the Province of Canterbury, on the day on which she died, viz. the first day of November, in the year of our Lord 1367.

IN THE HOUSE AT PRESTON.¹

	<i>Wardrobe.</i>	£.	s.	d.
In primis, in gold and silver, in ready money ²		1241	6	8
Item, divers vessels and jewels of gold and silver		410	0	0

or Ordinary, at such times as he should appoint, an Inventory or Schedule, containing a true description of all the goods and chattels of a person deceased, at the time of his death, with their value, appraised by indifferent persons.

¹ This was Preston next Wingham. Hasted states that this manor of Preston, and the others belonging to Juliana de Leyborne, escheated to the Crown at her death, for want of an heir. This is an error; her first husband was John Lord Hastings and Abergavenny (son of Isabel, the eldest sister and coheir of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke); by this John Lord Hastings, she had a son, Laurence, who, 13 Edward III., was created Earl of Pembroke, as grandson of the eldest coheir of the last Earl, and was himself succeeded in the earldom by his son John.

By an entry on the Close Rolls, it appears that, on 20th February, 36 Edward III., Juliana confirmed divers manors in Kent and elsewhere (among them this manor of Preston) to trustees, who, on 15th March in the same year, reconveyed them to her for life, with remainder to the King. In fact, the transaction seems to have been a conveyance to the King (reserving to herself a life-interest) for subsequent grant to religious

² "Pecunia numerata"—"money counted down."

Item, 4 cloths of gold	£26	13	4
Item, 1 cloth of silver and 5 cloths of silk	5	6	8
Total ¹	£1683	6	11

The Chapel.

Item, divers vestments, books, and other ornaments for my Lady's Chapel	31	0	8
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The Chamber.

Item, divers ornaments for my Lady's head	10	8	0
Item, divers my Lady's vestures, with fur, buttons, ² and other apparel, for my Lady's body	37	5	4
Item, divers beds, with their furniture	48	16	2

The Hall.

Item, 1 dorser, ³ of the work of "Befs de Hampton"	2	0	0
Item, one dorser with a coster ⁴ of the arms of Leyborne	13	6	8
Item, one dorser, with a coster of tawny worsted	0	16	0
Item, three bankers ⁵	0	5	0

Pantry, Buttery.

Item, one pipe of red wine, value	2	13	4
Item, table cloths, ⁶ towels, napkins, and other small things	7	7	8

houses. I have met with more than one instance which seems to confirm my conjecture as to this *modus operandi* in effecting religious endowments. It is true that the King did not always, in the first instance, as in the case of Preston, carry out the donors' intentions—some State reasons interfering; but eventually the endowments seem to have reached their destination.

¹ This is incorrectly summed up in the original; it should have been £1683. 6s. 8d.

² "Cum furura, botonura et aliis apparatibus."

³ "Dorser," hangings for the walls, at the back, as it were, of the sitter. "Befs de Hampton," *i. e.* worked with the legend of Bevis de Hampton; probably this was the tapestry at the head of the hall, behind the dais.

⁴ "Coster," *i. e.* side hangings or curtains. At the siege of Carlaverock, Sir William de Leyborne, grandfather of Juliana, bore a pennon with "Inde o sis blanc lyons rampans," *i. e.* azure six lions rampant argent, the "arms of Leyborne."

⁵ "Banker," *i. e.* the covering of the benches or seats.

⁶ The original has "mappæ mensales, manutergia, sauenappe et alia

Kitchen, Larder.

Item, 30 carcasses ¹ of oxen for my Lady's larder .	£16	0	0
Item, 2 boars, and 200 hogs, for the same larder .	33	0	0
Item, 280 muttuns, ² and other sheep, for the same larder	14	0	0
Item, 16 fat bucks, ³ salted	5	0	0
Item, salmon, melewell, ⁴ stockfish, and other fish .	32	0	0
Item, brass and leaden vessels, with other iron utensils	10	3	0

Bakery and Brewery.

Item, corn and malt ⁵ in the Bakery and Brewery, in gross value	21	0	0
Item, divers utensils in the Bakery and Brewery, value	5	0	0

Horses.

Item, one horse, value	13	6	8
Item, one horse, value	10	0	0
Item, three horses, value	10	0	0
Item, 10 horses, value	20	0	0

Oats and Hay.

Item, 100 quarters of oats for foddering the horses, value	13	6	8
Item, 100 loads ⁶ of hay, value	12	10	0

Utensils.

Item, divers utensils and instruments in the Chamber, Hall, and Workshop, with chariots, and carts for the household, value ⁷	10	0	7
Sum	£379	5	9

Sum total of the house, £2062. 12s. 8d.

minuta." Savena, Sabanum, Σαβανον, "pannus asper abstersorius, scilicet quo homines utuntur in balneis." (Du Cange.) "Savena-nappa," coarse napkins.

¹ *i.e.* Salted beef.

² Multons, *i.e.* salted mutton.

³ "Bestie fere pingues."

⁴ Melewell, *i.e.* salted codfish.

⁵ "Frumentum et braseum."

⁶ "Carectate," cart-loads.

⁷ "In camer., aul., et fabrica, cu. chariotts. et carect. hospic."

MANOR OF PRESTON.

	£.	s.	d.
First, divers corn, as appears in the account of the servant ¹ there, value	60	0	0
Item, divers live stock, as appears in the same account, value	74	0	0
Item, dead stock there, as appears in the same account, value	2	0	0
Also in arrears of the servant there, on his last account	3	0	0
Total	£139	0	0

The chattels on the other Kent manors are similarly given. The heads in each case being almost precisely the same, it will be beside our present purpose to detail them; it will suffice to give the value found in each manor, viz.:—

Preston (as above)	139	0	0
Elmerston Overlond (<i>i. e.</i> Elmston, and Overland manor in Ash)	133	0	0
Elham	69	3	0
Esshetesford (<i>i. e.</i> Ashford)	50	0	0
Gare (<i>i. e.</i> de la Gare or Gore, in Upchurch)	106	0	0
Slayhull (<i>i. e.</i> Slayhills, in Upchurch)	56	6	2
Mere (in Rainham)	19	4	10
Eslyng (Easling)	63	0	10
Beuriper (in ready money) ²	4	0	0
Wodlyng (<i>i. e.</i> Wadling in Ripple)	43	19	8
Leyborne	83	11	6
Wateringbury	81	17	10
Total of chattels in the Kent manors	£849	3	10

The remainder of the Roll, with the exception of one

¹ "Serviens," the servant; in this instance doubtless corresponding to our Bailiff.

² "Pecunia numerata," as at p. 3.

entry relating to manors in Norfolk, is wanting. The above manors of Preston, Elmerston, Overland, Elham, Ashford, Gare, Slayhull, Mere, Easling, Wodlyng, Leyborne, and Wateringbury, were all among those included in Juliana's feoffment, cited in note to page 4, *supra*.

Such was the opulence of our great Infanta, and such the lavish hospitality with which she supported her state. But "she shall carry nothing away with her when she dieth, neither shall her pomp follow her."

Even so, the Lady of Leyborne, owner, it seems, of more numerous domains, and wider far than any ever held by one lord within the bounds of Kent, since the days of Odo,¹ is ready for her hour. The settlement of her estates has long been made. "The day is far spent," and, as the shadows of evening gather round, her worldly task is done.

Many of her manors she has already bestowed on religious houses; the rest of her paternal inheritance she conveyed to the King, five years since, reserving to herself no more than a life-interest therein; the fees of them all (if I have rightly interpreted the transaction) to be, at her death, divided among certain religious houses; and, of her boundless possessions, all that she can call her own, as she passes away, are the personalties in her house and on some of her farms. Just two days before her death, she bequeaths these also to pious and charitable uses.

¹ It must be remembered that the domains of Averanches, Maminot, Crevecoeur, and the other lordships (eight in all), constituting the great Constabulary of Dover Castle, must always be exceptional cases in estimating the possessions of our ancient magnates. It is true that these were extensive and lordly domains, but they were very heavily burdened with the maintenance of Dover Castle and keeping ward there, for which specific purpose they were originally granted, and though conferring great power and high position upon their owners, it is very questionable whether they added to their wealth so largely as at first sight might be supposed.

Of the great historic Clares, lords of Tunbridge Castle, many manors in this county were held, as of their honour of Gloucester, but I doubt whether their landed possessions in this county at all approached in extent those of our Infanta.

“ In the name of God. Amen.

“ On Saturday, the 30th day of October, in the year of our Lord, 1367, I, Juliana de Leyborne, Countess of Huntynghdon, make my testament after this manner :

“ Of sound mind. First, I bequeath my soul to God, and the blessed Virgin, and all His Saints ; and my body to be buried in the Church of the Monastery of St. Augustine of Kent, in the new Chapel,¹ on the south side of the Church. Item, I leave all my goods and chattels, moveable and immoveable, to the disposal of Sir Alexander Wayte, Canon of Wyng-ham, Sir John Amablee, Rector of the Church of Harrietsham, and John de Middleton, appointing the same executors of this my testament, that they may dispose, for my soul, in rewards of my servants, and other works of charity, as to them may seem most expedient.

“ Item, I appoint the Lord Thomas, the Abbot of the Monastery of the aforesaid Church of St. Augustine’s, supervisor of this my testament.

“ Done the day and year as above.

“ In witness whereof, to this my testament my seal is appended.”²

Thus closes the scene on all this pomp and affluence ; verily piety and charity had here their perfect work. With this noble lady passed away the baronial and illustrious name of De Leyborne. The palace at Preston soon degenerated into a mere monastic farm-house (a fate which is soon after shared by her old baronial castle of Leyborne), and not a trace now remains of the grandeur which, as our inventory evidences, must once have there existed.

L. B. L.

¹ This chapel was of her own foundation.

² The above will of Juliana de Leyborne is transcribed from the registry of Langham (p. 115. a.), at Lambeth Palace. Probate was granted on the 18th November, 1367.

ARCHBISHOP WARHAM'S LETTERS.

(FROM H. M. STATE PAPER OFFICE.)

THE following Letters, now for the first time published entire, may serve to throw light on the history of a man who owes more of his eminence to the friendship of Erasmus, and the reputed jealousy of Cardinal Wolsey, than to the capability and vigour with which he played his part in a stirring and momentous time.

William Warham was educated successively at Winchester, and New College in Oxford. Devoting himself to the study of the law, he practised in the Court of Arches, was made Master of the Rolls February 13, 1494-5, Keeper of the Great Seal August 11, 1502, and Lord Chancellor in the following January. When that idlest of all political vaudevilles—Peterkin Warbeck—(idle but for its possible tragical ending in “bloody noses and cracked crowns”) was being played out, Warham was despatched with others into Flanders on a mission of remonstrance; with small success on the first occasion, with so much satisfaction to himself and his employers on the second, that on the death of Archbishop Dean in 1504, Warham was nominated his successor in the See of Canterbury. His enthronization feast on that occasion is celebrated as the very pattern of sumptuousness and good eating even in those days, when as yet dyspepsia was not, and men's appetites were upon the same scale as those of the Homeric heroes. In 1515 he resigned, or, as some say (trusting too much to that lying varlet Polydore Vergil), was compelled to

give up the Chancellorship to his more popular rival Cardinal Wolsey. The Legatine authority of the latter brought him more than once into collision with the Archbishop in ecclesiastical causes, of which traces will be found in the following Letters.¹ He died two years after his more eminent and successful rival, August 23, 1532, leaving the Duke of Norfolk one of his executors.

Our readers will search in vain among the letters for any confirmation of the ridiculous anecdote retailed by Polydore Vergil, tracing to an undue familiarity on the part of Warham, and the application of the term "brother" in one of his letters to the Cardinal, a violent outbreak of Wolsey's animosity. On the contrary, these letters are as grimly civil as any letters can be. One of them, and one only (No. 22), affords some indication of that crabbedness which has concentrated in popular estimation round Warham's name and fame. His correspondence with Erasmus shows him in somewhat more lively colours. He could unbend his gaunt dignity with this prince of Latin humorists in puns and jokes suited to the walls of Lambeth. In one of his letters to the Archbishop, Erasmus complains that there was in his time a set of "fellows of such vinegar aspect," who could not tolerate laughter in a respectable quarter; or suffer anything but gravity beneath lawn-sleeves and ermine. "Why (says Erasmus to him on one occasion²) should it be considered derogatory for men in high positions in the State if they refresh their minds with a joke, when fatigued with the cares of office? Jupiter himself, the 'father of gods and men,' laughs in Hesiod." A sentiment so illiberal is fit only for the mouths of unenlightened monks or ascetical friars. And although from the correspondence which is here published we should not be apt to accuse Warham of the sin of punning, or being extra-officially funny, we are tempted to

¹ See No. 8.

² XII. 57.

lay before our readers the following extract from one of his letters to Erasmus, which shows that he could occasionally unbend and follow the suggestion of his eminent contemporary. It is addressed to Erasmus, at that time suffering from his old complaint, a fit of the stone. "My dear Erasmus, what have you to do with rocks and stones in that small frame of yours? Or what is to be built on that rock? [An unarchiepiscopal and somewhat profane allusion to the words of the New Testament.] You are not going to erect magnificent houses, or anything of the sort, I imagine. Since then *calculi* are not to your taste [Erasmus was not a first-rate accountant], get rid of your superfluous load as soon as you can. Pay money to have those stones removed, as I am daily paying money to have stones removed to my buildings [at Otford]." And more in the same strain, which whoso wishes to follow to the close, may find in the collection of Erasmus's Letters (Lond. fol. 1642).

Before closing these remarks, however, we are tempted to extract a passage from one of Erasmus's letters to Warham, to show the terms on which they lived. The latter might have exclaimed, in the words of Sir John, "I am not only witty myself, but the cause of wit in other men." And the genuine humour of Erasmus may well be contrasted with the somewhat forced conceits of his dignified correspondent. The Archbishop, it seems, had sent him a horse, not unlike to that which carried Sterne's *Eugenius*. No doubt, like other Archbishops, Warham had had experience of many curates and their needs, and, in a fit of abstraction apparently, to which great men and archbishops are liable, had sent Erasmus a curate's horse. Our witty Rotterdamite never having heard of our English proverb, thus writes to acknowledge the gift:—"I have received a horse from you, not so handsome as virtuous [our readers will

remember the eulogy of Rosinante]; he is free from all the mortal sins, save gluttony and incorrigible laziness (*gula et acedia*). He has all the virtues of a good confessor,—pious, prudent, humble, modest, sober, chaste, and quiet; he bites nobody; he never kicks. I suspect there has been some roguery, and another horse has been sent me in the stead of what you intended. I have given no directions to my groom; only if a handsomer and better one comes, he may change the saddle and bridle.” The result of this witty appeal, like many other equally interesting things, is lost in oblivion; either there was no record repository in those days, or such letters and documents were exchanged for some more valuable consideration.

1. ARCHBISHOP WARHAM TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

[EDWARD STAFFORD].

(Regrets that the Duke cannot come on Tuesday next, but has put off his visit till after Whitsuntide: must at that time be at Maidstone, to reform the College there. Would not for five hundred marks that *the matter intended* should take none effect.)

My singular good lorde, in my mooste hertie wise, I recomende me to your good lordeship. Ascertainyng the same that I have receved yo^r kynde and loving lettres writen the seconde day of this instant moneth, by the which I perceve that by suche infortune that yo^r Lordeship writeth of, ye may not be at Otforde on Tuesday next commyng, wherof I am right sory, and specially of suche infortune as shuld put yo^r good lordeship to any bodily payne or displeasir. And wher as yo^r lordeship writeth that ye have differred this journey til aft^r Whitsontide for the cause aforsaid, my lorde, I would be as glad as any man to see yo^r good lordeship at my power lodging at Otforde, at any tyme at yo^r lordeshippe's pleasir; but so it is that I have appointed the next day¹ aft^r the Nativitie of Sancte (*sic*) of Baptiste next commyng, to remove from hens to Maideston, for diverse and many causes concernyng the reformation

¹ June 25th.

of the college ther, and also for other causes concernyng the reformation of certeyne religiose places within my diocese, for whose apparence I have sent oute citations, which I can not conveniently revoke. Wherfor thies premisses considered, I hertily beseche yo^r good lordeship that I may understand yo^r pleasir and mynde at what tyme it may please yo^r lordeship to take the peyne to be at my power place at Otforde. My lorde, I had levyr lose v^c marke than the matir^e that is intended shuld take none effecte, for diverse and many considerations which wer to long to write. Almighty God knoweth best my mynde in this behalve, which ever preserve yo^r good Lordeship. At Otforde, the thirde day of Juing, [1519?]

Ever yo^r owne

WILLIAM CANTAR.

Indorsed: To my lorde of Bukkingham is good lordeship.

2. FROM THE SAME TO CARDINAL WOLSEY.

(On the coming of the Emperor Charles V., and his entertainment at Canterbury.)

After moost humble comendations I thank yo^r good grace as hertly as I can, that it hath pleaced the same tadvrtise me of thestablished and certaine determination of themporours maiestie for his repaire to the Kinges moost noble grace, and of the Kinges grace gieftes for the meting of themporoure at Cauntrebury, and for the deducting of his Maieste to Wychester. My Lord, I am verey muche bownd to yo^r good grace for the manifold tokyns of greate favors and kindnes, whiche I fynd dayly more and more encesse in yo^r grace towards me, for whiche, if I were able to do yo^r grace pleasure agayne, I were far unkynd if I wold not bee very diligent, redy, and glad to do it. And sory I am that I can not bee at Cauntrebury, to gyve yo^r grace attendance, and do my duety acordingly at yo^r gracs comyng thither, whiche I assuer yo^r grace I wold not failed to have doen, if I had not been diseased now of late, whereof I am not yet holy deliverd. Notw^tstanding I trust in Good, that by that tyme that I have doen my duety to the Kinge grace at my power house at Otford, I shalbe able furthw^t

to jorney to Cauntrebury spedily, there to receyve the Kinges grace and thempour in my Cathedral churche. If there bee any thyng in thoes parties apperteynyng to me, whiche may bee to yo^r graxis pleasure, I desire yo^r grace to use it as ye wold yo^r owne. From Otford, the xvijth day of May [1522].

At your good grace comaundement,

WILL^AM CANTUAR.

Indorsed: To the moost Reverende father in God, and my singular good Lord, my Lord Cardinal of York and legate de latere good grace.

3. FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

(Of the committal of a priest named Bradshaw, for pulling down certain writings and seals set up in the abbey of Boxley, by order of the Pope, against "the ill opinions of Martin Luther.")

Place it yo^r good grace to understand that a certaine preest, called S^r Adam Bradshawe, whom I send now unto yo^r good Lordship, was put into prison at Maidestone for his great presumption in pulling downe and breking of suche writinges and seales as were set up at thabbey of Boxley against the yl opinions of Martine Luther. Whiche preest, being thus in prison, hathe writen and caused to bee cast into the highe strete at Maidestone verie sedicous billes against the Kinges grace moost honorable counsail and other estates of this realme (as I am informed). And because his offense in that behalve is of more weyght than the pulling downe and breking of the said writinges and seales, I send him to your grace to bee ordered ferther as ye shall think good. I understand that the keper of my prison at Maidestone hath deliverd the said sedicous billes to S^r Henrie Gilford, by the whiche billes yo^r grace may more specially perceyve the said preestes malicious and sedicious mynde. As toching the pulling downe and breking of the said writinges and seales which were set up at the popis holi-nes comaundement and by yo^r grace auctorite and under my seale, it may please yo^r lordship to punisshe him therefor, if he escape the other dainger, or els it may please yo^r grace to remitt him to bee punished by me. This preest hath been

diverse tymes before this in prison, bothe at Cales and in other places of this realme, whiche also now at his last taking hath hurt one other preest and put him in dainger of his lif. I have examned this preest in al thes matiers, whiche in effect wol confesse nothing to me, but referreth himself to the bylles, and said he wold aunswere to thaim when he myght see thaim ; and he denieth the pulling downe of the said writinges and seales, whiche matier, at my going to Caunterburie, when I com to Maidestone I wol more ripely examine, and send yo^r good grace more knowlege thereof. At my manor of Otford, the xvjth day of Juny [1522].

At yo^r gravis commaundement,

WILL^AM CANTUAR.

Addressed : To the mooste reverende father in Godde, and my singuler good lord, my lord cardinal and legate a latere is good lordships.

4. FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

(Protesting against stabling the King's horses in the monastery of Christchurch.)

Place it yo^r moost honorable grace to understand that I hiresay by reaport, that a servaunt of the Kinges grace is come to Canturbery at the commaundement of the Kinges Counsell (as he saith) to have stabilling for the Kinges horses, to be kept at lyvery wⁱⁿ the monastery of my Church of Canturbery, shewing no letters of the Kinges grace, or other writinges declaring the said commaundement. Suer I am that the Kinges hieghnes and yo^r grace, well enformed of the great charges that the said monastery hath ben and moost daily be put unto, wolbe well contented to spare the same frome any suche maner extraordinary charges. For the said monastery hath been so burdend w^t receyving and intertaynyng bothe of the Kinges graces moost noble ambasitors and other princes, and of other honorable personages passing by that way, beside the Kinges grace and thEmperor's late being ther, besyde also fynding of men to war, above gret subsidies and great loneyes, that if suche charges or other lyke shuld contynue, the same mought after

be utterly decayed, which I wold be very lothe to see in my tyme. And I trust verely that yo^r grace, for the gret devotion that yo^r grace oweth to Christes Church and to the blessed matir¹ Sainct Thomas, wolbe contented of yo^r goodnes to putt some remedy that noo suche newe charges be enduced ; but wilbe so gracious to yo^r religiouse bedemen there, as to discharge thayme therof, specially wher the said monastery standyth far of frome the Kinges grace contynuall abode, to kepe any lyvery of horse commodiously for the Kinges grace use ; and also bicause it was never seen hertofo^r that any suche lyvery hathe been kept in the said monastery by the Kinges graces dayes or any of his noble progenitors. I besече God to send yo^r grace as good helthe and as gret honor in yo^r jorney, boothe going and commyng, as yo^r hart can desier, and as I trust verely yo^r grace shall have, seing yo^r entent is so good and so godly. At Otford, the fyveth day of July [1522].

At yo^r graces commaundement,

WILL^M CANTUAR.

Indorsed : To the moost Reverende father in God, and my very singuler good lord, my lord Cardinall of Yorke and legat de latere his good grace.

5. FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

(Thanks the Cardinal for the friendly spirit in which he has received the present the Archbishop had sent him, as well as for the costly jewel the Cardinal had sent to the shrine of St. Thomas. Has received by Dr. Sampson the Lutheran books, and the MSS. of Wicliffe, containing no less dangerous and pestilent heresy. Will examine them at Otford, and the day after his return to Lambeth (April 11th), will consult with the Cardinal. Rejoices that England has so orthodox a sovereign as Henry VIII.)

Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine, Domine mi colendissime, debitam commendationem vestræ reverendissimæ paternitatis literas humanitatis plenas libenter accepi legique libentissime, quæ me profecto maxima affecere voluptate. Quod autem dignatur Reverendissima Dominatio vestra munusculum meum, ad eandem jamdudum transmissum, (quod certe perexiguum neque tanto patre satis dignum extiterat), tam benigne

¹ Sic in orig.

acceptare tantopereque laudare, gratias eidem obinde ago et habeo immensas. Summopere enim cupiebam (quod item nunc cupio) ut Reverendissima Dominatio vestra meum potius erga eandem animum, perpetuo illi dedicatum, quam rem ipsam saltem tam exilem aestimare acceptareque velit. Quantum autem ad jocale illud preciosissimum per venerabilem virum dominum doctorem Sampson, vestræ Reverendissimæ Dominationis capellanum, jam ad hanc ecclesiam meam Cantuariensem missum et ibidem decenter ac honorifice oblatum attinet, tam piam tamque sanctam ejusdem Reverendissimæ Dominationis vestræ in optimum maximumque Deum, ac gloriosum ejus martyrem divum Thomam, in hac parte devotionem, nemo profecto est qui non plurima laude prosequatur atque vehementer extollat; pro quo quidem tanto tamque munifico munere preciosissimoque thesauro indubie sperandum est ab ipso omnipotenti Deo præfatoque ejus martyre (quod omnem terrenam retributionem exsuperat) vestræ Reverendissimæ Dominationi copiosissime retribuendum fore. Ego vero et confratres mei, Prior et commo-nachi ecclesiæ meæ, pro vestra Reverendissima paternitate, ob singularem ejusdem in hac re benevolentiam, summamque liberalitatem, continuas perpetuasque apud Altissimum preces effundemus. Quod enim ad ipsa Lutheriana damnatissima opera attinet, accepi per dictum dominum doctorem quosdam libellos, quos diligentissime et legere et notare curabo; et ut diligentius id fiat, me quam primum ad Otfordiam conferam, ubi quosdam codices Joannis Wyclife, non minoris malitiæ ac hæresis, quam Lutherianæ hæreses sint, examinare sedulo studebo; quo facto, ad Lametham erga decimum diem instantis mensis me recipiam, et sequenti die vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem (uti debeo) visitabo. Et quicquid in iis rebus mea opera efficere possit, vestra Dominatio Reverendissima me paratissimum habebit. Non mediocriter profecto Anglis duntaxat, verum etiam universæ religioni Christianæ, merito congratulandum est, quod Deus talem, tam pium, tam sanctum tamque catholicum Principem, qualis serenissima Regia Majestas sit, hac tempestate nobis adversus damnatissimos ecclesiæ hostes atque hæreticos, quasi e cælo missum concesserit. Quod si sua Majestas ab ecclesia Christi (quod absit) deficeret, non parva toti reipublicæ Christianæ jactura immineret. Cætera taceo donec (Deo volente) cum Reverendissima paternitate vestra coram

liberius conferre licebit. Ex ecclesia mea Cantuariense, tertio Aprilis, [1522.]

Ejusdem Reverendissimæ paternitatis vestræ

Obsequentissimus deditissimusque,

WILHELMUS CANTUARIENSIS.

Addressed: Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et Domino, Domino Thomæ, miseratione divina tituli Sanctæ Cecilie Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ presbytero cardinali, Eboracensi Archiepiscopo, Angliæ Primati, et Apostolicæ Sedis a latere Legato, . . . Angliæ Cancellario, tanquam Domino meo.

Indorsed: William, Archbusshop of Canterbury, thankinge Cardynall Wolsey for a Jewell, verye Ryché, sent to be offred to S^t Thomas of Canterburye, &c.

6. FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

(Sends to the Cardinal, Sir Henry, the parson of Sevenoaks; who has used "unfitting language of his Grace." Hopes Wolsey will be "good, gracious, and piteous" to the poor man, and not commit him to prison.)

Pleace it your grace, I have sent unto the same oone Sir Henry, parochie prieste of Sevenocke, which (as it is surmised) hath used unfitting langage of your grace, otherwise then semyd hym to do. Upon communication hadd w^t hym, I perceived hym well willing to come unto yo^r grace, to geve attendaunce oone the same for his excuse, which trustythe that yo^r grace wolbe good graciouse and pituouse to hym, seing he is so well willing to come to yo^r grace; he is a pow^r prieste, and pitie it is, my lord, that he shuld be extreamely entreatyd w^tall or comyttyd to prison; he is unhable to susteyne or beare any great charge or coste, and I doubt not but if it might lyke yo^r grace to be graciouse lord unto hym nowé, he wilbe at all tymes the rediar to owe unto yo^r grace his service. As towching the matier that yo^r grace and I had communication, concernyng Tonebrige on Monday next ensueing, I entend, by Godes grace, ther to bee, and as I shall spede, so I will ascerteyne yo^r grace. At Otford, the xxij day of June.

At yo^r graces commaundment,

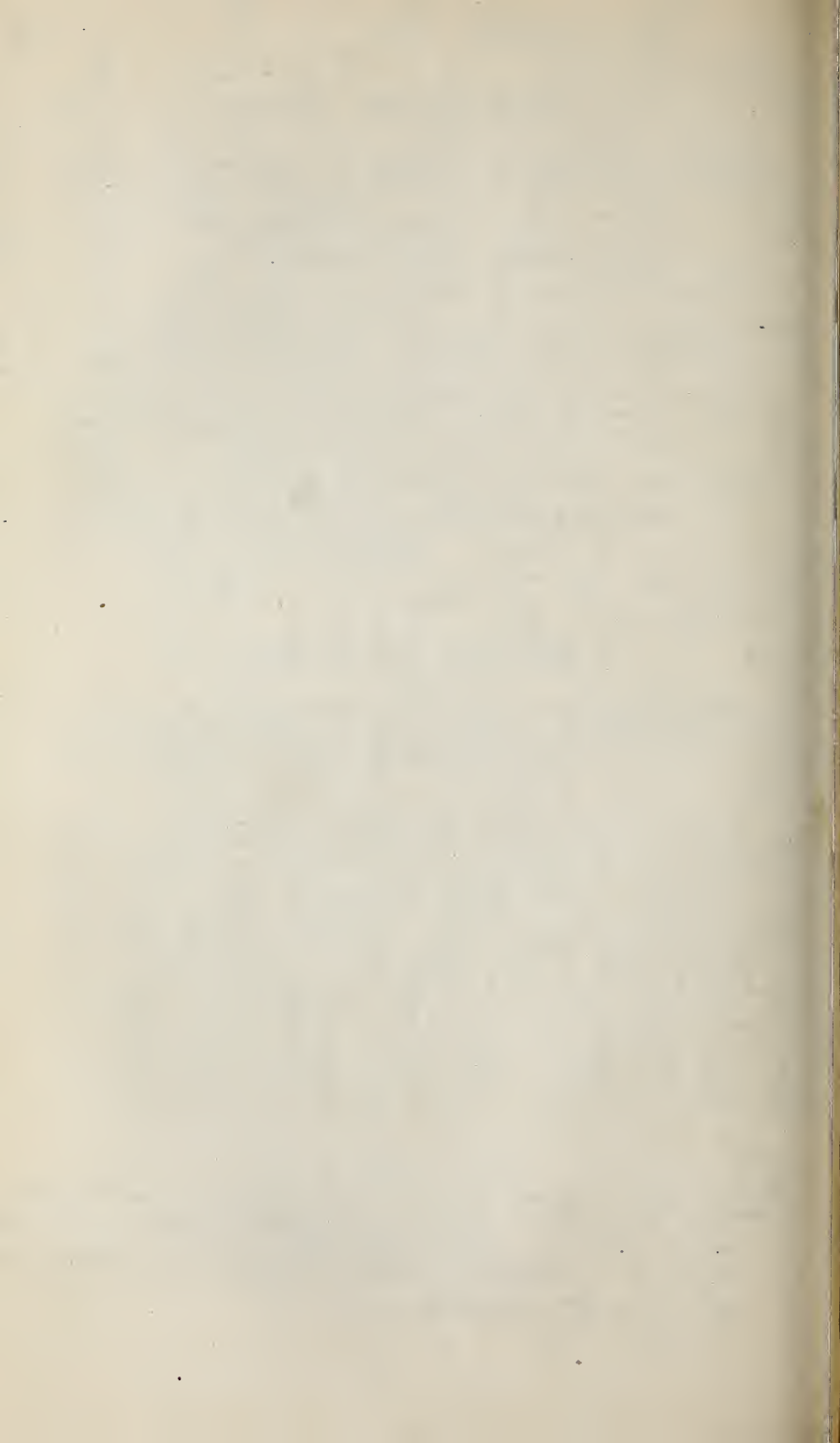
WILL^AM CANTUAR.

I know it your grace. I have sent unto the same say, our Henry
 parsons priests of Dunelm, who say, as it is promised,
 bute wold befitting language of your grace after wold
 to be desired hym to be. Upon contrary had no hym to
 provide hym well willing to come unto ye grace to do
 attendance why the same for the same, which trusteth
 that ye grace wold be good, grace for punishment to hym,
 being ye is so well willing to be to ye grace, to
 is a poor priest, and pith it is my lord that I should be
 yet is amply subtreasyd well or thought to pray for the
 is unable to suffer in or leave any great charge
 or rest. and I doubt not but if it might be ye grace
 to be grace for lord unto hym under the will at all
 hym the desire to come unto ye grace the same. It
 having the matter that ye grace and I had contrary
 contrary things, on monday next ensuing I
 intend by god grace to be, and at Ball Park
 so I will certifye ye grace. It before the xxij
 Day of June

It ye grace to command

William Cantuar

To the most Reverend father in god and
 my very singular good lord my lord
 and mall of York Legation de Latere
 his good grace.



Indorsed : To the most reverend father in God, and my verey singuler good Lord, my lord Cardinall of Yorke, legate de latere, his good grace.

7. FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

(Marvels not a little that he had not received the King's letters, as others had done, in time convenient, demanding a levy of fifty persons, "sufficiently harnessed to do the King's grace service in his wars." All able persons had been already taken up by other men, and it was not for his poor honesty "to send forth upon haste unable persons and other men's leavings.")

Pleace it yo^r good grace to understand that this xxiith day of Aprile, in the evenyng, sitting at my supper, I receyved the Kinges grace moost honorable letters, dated at Richemount, the ixth day of the said moneth, by whiche I am commaunded to send to Grenewiche fyfty hable persons sufficiently harnessed, to do the Kinges grace service in his warres, by the last day of this moneth of Aprile. My Lord, I mervale not a litelle what it shuld meane, that the Kinges grace said letters were not deliverd unto me in tyme conveniente, as other menn receyved the Kinges grace letters directed unto thaim; and righte sory I am that I can not accomplisse the Kinges grace pleasir conteyned in the said letters, bireason of the late receyvynge of thoes letters, and for lakke of tyme sufficient. Suche hable persons as were nyghe unto me hereaboughte bee taken up alrede by other men, whiche I was contented to permitte and suffer, seing that I had no letters or other commaundement from the Kinges grace on that behalf, and to send furthe upoun hast unhable persons and other mennys levinges I think it shuld not stand best w^t my power honeste. And now to send to farther places, as to Cauntrebury, Charring, or thoes quarters, for chosing and preparing of the said fyfty persons, I suppose my labors and costes in that behalf shuld bee voide and in vayne, forasmuche as it is not possible for me to send thaim to Grenewiche by the day appointed. Wherefor I beseche yo^r grace of yo^r greate goodnes, the premisses considered, to bee meanes to the Kinges noble grace, that his highnes take no displeasure w^t me for that I can not throughe lakke of tyme prepare and send furthe the

said fyfty persons to bee at Grenewiche at the day appoincted. Whereby yo^r good grace shal ever bynd me to bee at yo^r commaundement. And in caas it shalbe the Kinges grace please to appoincte me a sufficient tyme and a longer day to prepare, and send furth the said number (His graces please knowen) I wol not faile to do my duety in that behalve accordingly. Written at my Manor of Otford, the xxiith day of Aprile, [1522 ?]

At your graces commandement,

WILL^AM CANTUAR.

Indorsed : To the moost Reverend father in God, and my verey singulier good lord, my Lord Cardinall of York and Legate de Latere is grace.

8. FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

(Regrets that he cannot be at Lambeth "tomorrow next," according to the King's pleasure. Has no provision there. Will be there however by Friday or Saturday next.)

Please it yo^r grace to undrestand that this present day, beeing the xiiiith day of this instant moneth, I have receved yo^r loving lettres, wherein yo^r grace writeth that for certeyn urgent and greate causes, it is the Kinges graces pleasir and yours that I shuld be at Lamethith tomorowe next. My singular good Lorde, there is no subject of the Kinges grace that wold be gladder to accomlishe his Highnes commaundement and yo^r graces pleasir than I to my litle power wold be ; howbeit, considering that my horses be at liverey at Charring, and that I have certeyne provision made, aswel at Canterbury as at Charring, and also that I have no provision made for me at Lamethith ayenst my commyng thider, I see not howe it is possible or convenient for me to be at Lamethith in so hasty spede, and namely myne age considered and distance of place. Albeit I shal make as good and spedy diligence as I conveniently can to be ther by Friday or Saturday next, to give attendance on the Kinges Highnes and yo^r grace accordingly. I humbly besече yo^r grace to thinke no slaknes in me ; and so I trust that thorough yo^r graces loving information the Kinges Highnes wil take no displeasir anempst me, bicause I can comm no soner to

Lamehith than is before ; for if I cowde possibly be ther rather, I wold not faile so to be. At Maidestone, the xiiiith day of Marche, [1523 ?]

At yo^r graces commaundement,

WILL^AM CANTUAR.

Indorsed : To the moste reverend fadre in God, and my sing'lar good Lord my lord Cardinal of Yorkes grace, Legate a latere.

9. FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

(The proceedings against Master Rawlyns, Warden of Merton College in Oxford.)

Pleace it yo^r good grace to understand that, acording to yo^r graces mynde and pleacire, I have made abbreviat of the depositions of the fealowship of Merton college, concernyng maister Rawlyns¹ cause, whiche I send now unto yo^r grace w^t the originall depositions. The hole matier resteth uponn trialle of v. articles :—ferst, is whether maister Rawlyns hath been intolerable in the said college ; secunde, whether he hath been unprofutable to the same ; third, whether he hath diminished the state of that college in thinges moveable or immoveable ; fourthe, whether he hath duely observed the exercise of lernyng there ; fyveth, whether he hath diminissed the numbere of the fealows of the same. And in all the said articles maney of the said felowships, ten in number, have deposed against maister Rawlings, and have shewed diverse and manifold reasons and causes to every article why they have so deposed, as it may evidently appere unto yo^r grace, by the said abbreviat, not varienge from the originall, but in brevyng of the matier. In the whiche abbreviat at thende of depositions, in every article, a summe is set, shortly comprising the contentes in the same. And in like wise bee orderd the depositions of such as doeth that in thaim is, to excuse master Rawlyns in the said articles, which so deposing bee fyve in number. But after thair depositions no summe is set, bicause the moost part of thaim is but as a summe in it self. It may pleace yo^r good grace, at yo^r

¹ Richard Rawlyns was elected Warden of Merton College, Oxford, December 19, 1508, and deprived of the same office, September 19, 1521.

leysure, to se and ponder al the said depositions, as yo^r grace shall think it best, and moost expedient. At my mano^r of Croidon, the xxviiith day of Marche, [1521.]

At your gravis commaundement,

WILL^AM CANTUAR.

Indorsed: To the moost Reverende father in God, and my special good Lord, my Lord Cardinall of York and Legate de latere is good grace.

10. FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

(Has called the clergy together of his peculiars and the parts adjoining, and has exhorted them to set a good example in complying with the King's demand for a subsidy. Finds but "small towardness" in them: such as be connected with conventual foundations are very sore and grumbling, because "of such houses as be now newly suppressed." Advises forbearance, as it is not good policy "to broach too many matters of displeasure at once.")

Pleace it yo^r grace to understande that now of late I called before me, by vertue of the Kinges graces most honorable letters, the clergie of a good parte of my peculiars, and some other deaneryes nigh adyonyng unto me. In whome when (aft^r the reding of the preamble of the Kinges graces instructions, and aft^r all other exhortations that I could devise and speke unto thaym), I found but small towardnes to thentent that they shuld not be example to other to refuse and denye the graunte required, and for the respecte of the holynes of this tyme of Easter, in which it was not convenient to bynd thayme to attendaunce frome thaire cures, I have geven thayme a farther day, the Thursday in the Easter weke.

I have hadd communication w^t the most parte of the heddes of religiouse houses, possessioners wⁱⁿ Kent, whiche have aunswerd by mouthe, that by reason of povertie they be not able to contribute as they be required. Notw^tstanding inasmoche as they hadd conventes annexed unto thayme, w^tout whome they thought they might not make any resolute aunswer in that behalfe, they desired respite, to have communication w^t thair brethren, whiche I have graunted thayme, advising thayme to loke more depely and more substancially on the matier, and to

make a better aunswer in avoiding of farther daunger. I assure yo^r grace that suche as be of the religion of suche howses as be nowe newly suppressed, grudgeth sore therat, whether it wer better or no to spare the proceeding ferther therin tyll this greate matier of the kinges grace be ended. I referr it to yo^r grace, albeyt it hath been thowght good policye, in tymes past, not to broche to many matiers of displeasur at ons.

My chancello^r hath been in other places of Kent to practise w^t the clergy for ther graunte; and what he hath found therin, this berar, my servaunte, William Potken, which was present w^t hym in every place, may at large enforme yo^r grace, if it shall pleace the same to geve hym audience, to whom I desier yo^r grace to geve credence in this behalfe. I have nowe writen to yo^r grace concernyng bothe the spiritualtie and temporaltie of such thinges as be don already. If I wer present w^t yo^r grace, I could shewe no more as yet, as I shall further hire and see, so in this matier I shall advertise yo^r grace from tyme to tyme. At Otford, the xijth day of Aprile, [1528.]

At yo^r graces commaundment,

WILL^AM CANTUAR.

Indorsed: To the most Reverend father in God, and my verey singuler good lord, my Lord Cardinall of Yorke and legate de latere his good grace.

11. FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

(Complains that he is disquieted in his jurisdiction by the Cardinal's officers, contrary to law: begs that Wolsey will look to this, as he has often promised to take away no part of the jurisdiction of the Archbishop, who thinks that this is done without the Cardinal's cognizance.)

Pleace it your most honorable grace to understand that your Officers, as Doctor Dolman w^t other, very busiely inquietith me and my jurisdiction, specially of my courte of Audience of causes, apperteynyng to me in the right of my church, bireason of the legacy graunted to the same, thorowgh their inhibitions calling almaner of causes out of my handes and of my said court, being their at the sute of parteis, or of mere office, or of promotion of any party. And so at length, the same contynued, my jurisdiction of my audience shuld be extincted. Wherein,

as far as my pow^r lernyng serveth me, I am grevid otherwise than the lawe wold, as I doubt not but that other lerned in the lawe woll affirme, if they be required, and woll speke indifferently according to thair lernyng.

It hath pleased your grace to say unto me dyverse tymes heretofore that ye wold take away no parte of the jurisdiction of my church of Canturbury. And I thinke verely that this is attempted w^tout your graces mynd and knowlege, and that your grace is and wolbe so good and favorable as to suffer me and my church to enjoy our lawfull rightes accordingly, and that your grace woll commaund your said Officers to w^tdrawe the said attemptates, or at the leste to commaund thaym no farther to procede in thoes same, tyll I may attende on your grace and make ferther sute unto you therin presently, which shalbe the nexte terme, by the grace of our Lorde. Which, if it may please your good grace to do at this my pow^r requeste, I shall thinke meselfe moche bound to the same in that behalve, as I am many other wayes, For which God rewarde your grace wher I am not able. And if ther be any service or pleasur that I can do to your grace, it shalbe ready at your commaundment. At Otforde, the xxvjth day of February, [1519?]

At your graces commaundment,

WILL^AM CANTUAR.

Indorsed: To the moste Reverend father in God, and my very singuler good lorde, my lord Cardinall of Yorke, legate delatere, his good grace.

12. FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

(In commendation of Master Doctor Tunstall, "a man of good learning, virtue, and sadness," just appointed to the See of London.)

In my moost humble and moost hertie wise I commende me to yo^r good grace. And where I am informed that it hath pleased the Kinges moost noble grace to name to the bisshopriche of London maister Cutbert Tunstall, maister of the Rolles, at yo^r graxis speciall commendation, furtheraunce, and promotion, I thank yo^r good grace therefor, as hertly as I can; and in my power opinion yo^r grace could not have owed yo^r favor

in that behalfe more honorably and lawdably than to the said maister Tunstall, being a man of so good lernyng, vertue, and sadnes, whiche shalbe righte mete and convenient to entertaine ambassiators and other noble straungers at that notable and honorable citie, in the absence of the Kingis moost noble grace, if it shall than fortune yo^r good grace to bee also absent. And in promoting suche a man to that dignite yo^r grace hath doen that thing that I doubt not shalbe to the Kinges grace greate pleasure continually, whereby yo^r grace shalle purchase manifold thankes of his noble grace. And I, whiche am many weyes bound unto yo^r grace alredey, am now muche more bound unto yo^r grace for yo^r said favors shewed to the said maister Tunstall, in recompensing of the whiche, if there were any thing in my power wherin I myght or could do yo^r grace plesir, suerly I wold bee right glad to do it. But where I can none other thing doo for yo^r good grace, but pray for the preservation of the same, yo^r grace shal not faile to have me yo^r continuall orator, and the said maister Tunstall yo^r faithfull servant and Bedeman during his life (I doubt not). Finally, it is marvelows greate pleasir and comfort to se the Kinges moost noble grace (whiche is singulierly lerned himself) to bestowe his greate promotions to very well lerned men. At my power house of Otford, the xixth day of January, [1522.]

At yo^r graces commaundement,

WILL^AM CANTUAR.

Indorsed : To the moost Reverende father in God, and my singulier good lord, my lord Cardinall of York and legat a latere is good grace.

13. FROM THE SAME AND HIS FELLOW-COMMISSIONERS TO
CARDINAL WOLSEY.

(Difficulty of collecting the loan in the county of Kent.)

Please it yo^r grace, so it is suche persons as have landes or goddes vnder xx^{li} downewardes, wer never yet assembled befor the Kinges grace Comissioners, and such persons of whome the more parte hath but litle substaunce, be more apte to make more busynes then men of greater substaunce woll. And in as

moch as the said persons of small substaunce be farr moo in nomeber than the other sorteis bee, which indescrete multitude it shalbe verey hard to ordre, bicause multitudes comonly be more ruled after thaire own selfe wilfulnes than after good reason or discretion, and some woll fall in to fumes, and so fallen woll not be ruled by other persons, nether can or woll well rule or ordre thaymselves, we desier yo^r grace to know yo^r mynd and pleasure, whether ye shall thinke it best to assemble thaym, whome if we shuld call befor us, we suppose we shall have moche busynes w^t thayme, and litle profecte shall ensue therof to the Kinges hieghnes.

Item, the Kinges graces said subjectes dwellith far aparte, and the number of theym is greate. Some of theym having skante money to bring theymselves to Canterbury or other places wher we haue appoincted to sitt, will sore grudge to labo^r, so farr leiving thair husbanndry. And whether it shall stand w^t yo^r graces pleasur that the Kinges graces Comissioners, which have devided theymselves in to diverse hundredes, shall or no sitte by vertue of the Kinges graces comission (whiche they have now in the said hundredes to theym allotted, and call befor theym such persons as be under the some of xx^{li}, as is abovesaid, we pray yo^r grace that we may knowe yo^r graces advise and counsaill. And in caas it shalbe yo^r graces pleasure, that the said comissioners may sitte as is befor said, thesaid greate nombre shall assemble in diverse places, and not to gether, in avoyding ther greate expenses, coostes, and charges. And the rather it shall please yo^r grace to ascer-teyne us of yo^r graces pleasur, the soner and better this matier shalbe handled.

Finally, the comon fame and brute of theis parteis is that the Kingges Hieghnes hath remytted the paymentes of such somes of money as wer demaunded of the Kinges graces subjectes of the Citie of London, which fame and brute, as it is thowght, hath doon litle good here.

Item, we have sent unto yo^r grace the coopy of suche our lettres as we have sent unto the Kinges hieghnes. At Cant^r-bery, the third day of May, [1525?]

At yo^r graces comaundment,

WILL ^A M CANTUAR,	THOMAS BOLEYN,
T. LORD COBHAM,	HENRY GULDEFORD.

Indorsed: To the most Reverend father in God, and our verey singuler good Lord, Lord Cardinall of Yorke and Legate de Latere his good grace.

14. FROM ARCHBISHOP WARHAM TO CARDINAL WOLSEY.

(Will do his best to induce the clergy to contribute a sixth to the King's use; sees however there is as great untowardness in this behalf in the clergy as in the laity; rather more. Is hardly pressed for money himself, as his farmers cannot obtain his rents, and he has already paid, upon privy seals, 2500 marks, for which he has not been reimbursed. Hopes that the same favour which has been extended to his fellow-commissioners in Kent, will be granted to himself.)

Pleace it yo^r grace to understand that I have received yo^r kynde letters, writen at Hampton Courte, the vth day of this present moneth; by the which I perceve that wher the Kinges grace hertofore demaunded of the clergy the thirde parte of their revenues, his highnes wilbe nowe contented to have the vjth parte of the said revenues: in the which mater yo^r grace desireth to knowe myne opinion. My Lord, except I mought perceve som towardenes in the clergy for making of this graunte, it shuld be hard for me to shewe myne opinion therin. Howbeit by suche communication as I have had lately with diverse religiose persons to whom the Kinges graces letters were directed for this cause, and also by their aunswers delivered to me in writing, which aunswers, aft^r my returne to Otford, I shal send to yo^r grace, I perceve more intowardenes than towardenes in this behalve, and like wise in other the clergy. Notw^tstanding I shalbe glad to induce theym to graunte the said vjth parte as-muche as I can, and to doo al other thinges according to the teno^r of yo^r graces said letters.

My lorde, I thinke yo^r graces opinion in the premisses to be good, if the religiose men and the clergy wold be induced to condescend to the same. Wherto that they may inclyne, I shal use al meanes possible after my pouer wytte. Howbeit I see not but that ther is as grete intowardenes in the said religiose men and clergy as in the temporaltie, and rather more, and specialy religiose men which (as they sayeth) have solde their plate and jowelles, and som have layed their landes to morgage, and some

have solde the landes of the church, clerely allegeth mervailose grete povertie.

As touching yo^r graces writing for payeng of my parte to the Kinges grace at this tyme: My Lord, for the service that I owe to his grace, I wold be as glad (as any subject of his highnes, as I have alwayes be,) to helpe his grace at this tyme with that summe that I might conveniently ber, though it wer gretely to my payne; howbeit, considering the charges of the keping of my howse, and the payeng alredy of the loone money, amounting to the summe of m^lm^l and v^c markes, for the repayment wherof I have certeyn private seales, whereby I was promised to be repayed long befor this tyme, and as yet am not payed; considering also the reparations of places and landes belonging to my church, which wold fall downe if the same wer not furthwith repaired, and also other grete charges to me necessarily belonging, besides the money graunted by the last convocation, which money by me to be payed ammounted to no litle summe; and also considering the charges that I have had in tymes past, and nowe have by reason of the Kinges graces commissions concernyng temporal causes; and that at now my beeing in these parties, my Receivo^rs cowde receve of my firmars for my dimid yeres rent due at East^r last no mor money but xxij^{li}, which firmars allegeth grete povertie, affirming that they be not able to pay to the Kinges grace the money graunted at the last parliament:¹ it is very harde for me nowe at this time to pay the said demaunde. Albeit, as long as I have money, I shalbe contented to departe to his grace asmuche as I may, and more. Please it yo^r grace to knowe that her is grete exclamation in al this cuntrey, aswel amonges the spiritualitye as the temporalitie, of very muche povertie and charistie of money. Wher yo^r grace writeth that the Kinges grace trusteth that I wilbe contented to pay the hole summe of money by me to be payed, mentioned in his graces lettres to me addressed: my lorde, I assur yo^r grace that as toching any graunte of any summe of money by me to be payed, I received no letters from the Kinges grace, but I received diverse letters from his highnes, directed to diverse religiose persons of this my dioces, which letters I have delivered accordingly; and what summe was put on myne hed yo^r grace best knoweth, howbeit I am not perfectly remembred therof.

¹ A.D. 1523.

Wher yo^r grace writeth that I shuld the rather pay at this tyme because I shalbe repayed by Michaelmas next of that money which I last avaunced to the Kinges grace by wey of loone, my lord, the said money was promised to be repayed to me at Candilmas last, which as yet I have not receved. Howbeit, if I had x^m li. of money, I wold be as glad to make loone thereof to the Kinges grace at this tyme, w^t as good a wil and mynde as any man living wold doo.

My lord, wher it hath pleased the Kinges good grace of his singular grete goodenes to remitte to his commissioners and other his graces temporal subjects of this his countie of Kent, which have made alredy graunte half the summes of money at the first sitting demaunded, as by his graces newe instructions it appereth; I trust, and so humbly beseche yo^r grace to be mediato^r for me to his highnes, that in consideration of my charges and peynes in his graces causes, susteyned by his graces commaundment, I for my parte may be in no worse condition than any of his graces said commissioners or subjects be; howbeit, as I have before writen, I shalbe glad to doo that that may lye in litle power for th'accomplissing of his graces high pleasir. At Maydeston, the viijth day of May, [1525.]

At yo^r graces commaundment,

WILL^AM CANTUAR.

Indorsed: To the moste reverend fadre in God, and my veray singular good lord, my lord cardinal of Yorke and legate de latere his good grace.

15. WARHAM AND HIS FELLOW-COMMISSIONERS TO HENRY VIII.

(Commending the liberal spirit of the inhabitants of Kent, who had "kindly, freely, and willingly offered their bodies, lives, and goods," to serve the King. They consider themselves more bound to this, not only as he is "a loving, kind, and valiant Prince," but as he takes himself to have been born in Kent, and consequently has shown special favours to that county.)

Place it yo^r noble grace to understand that we and other yo^r gracs Commissioners, to the nomeber of lxxx or thera-bowghts, assembled at yo^r Citie of Canterbury the second and

third dayes of this monith of May, Wher appered befor us at the said dayes, thinhabitaunts of diverse hundreds of this shire of Kent, to whom we shewed yo^r gracs hiegh pleasor, according to your gracs commission, and other yo^r gracs honorable lres to theym directed; and to write unto yo^r grace all our communications, exhortations, and other sayings, it shuld be very tediousse to yo^r grace to rede; Not w^tstanding, finally, all yo^r said subjects kindly, frely, and willingly offerd ther bodies, lyves, and gudds, to serve yo^r grace as far as ther bodies, lyves, and gudds will extend, as yo^r trewe, liege, and naturall subjects oweth to doo; And if ther pow^r and substaunnce wer as good as ther willes, they wold depart w^t every thing that yo^r grace wold demaund of theym. It was said emongs them that yo^r grace did take great displeasor ayenst theym, which thing they takith hevely and sorowfully, humble beseching yo^r grace to take no ferther displeasor ayenst theym, though at the first demaund they made difficultie, ffor they thought it better so to do, then expressely to promesse any certaine Somme to yo^r grace, and when yo^r grace having nede of the same, they shuld not be able to pay and satisfy according to ther promesse, w^{ch} thing mought cause yo^r grace to tak more displeasor w^t theym, then for thair first refusall. And all thoes yo^r subjects w^{ch} we have already called befor us, knoweth right well that yo^r grace take yo^r selfe as born in Kent, and alwayes have born yo^r gracs speciall favors to the same. Wherfor they thinkkith theymselves the more bound to serve yo^r grace with ther bodyes, lives and gudds, and so in ther most humble wise they besechith yo^r hieghnes to accepte theym, notw^tstanding any enformation made to the contrary, w^{ch} yo^r said subjects desiere us to certify yo^r grace of this ther mynds and offertures, wishing that they hadd now asmoche goodds as ever they hadd in ther lives, and then yo^r grace shuld right well perceive howe liberally they wold contribute to yo^r grace, ffor they say openly ther be no subjects leving that have a more loving, mor kind, and mor valiant Prince then they have of yo^r grace; and so in thair most humble wise they besechith yo^r grace to contynue the same. And this ther offertures and answers proceded only of theymselves, and not by enducyng of us or any other yo^r gracs commissioners, ffor we shewed theym we hadd no such Instructions to admytt ther offertures, albeyt we shewed theym that we wold certifie yo^r grace of thair good

mynds, trusting verely that yo^r grace will accept the same lovingly and thankfully, notw^tstanding they sayth that in all the premisses they be contented to be ordred by yo^r gracs charitable conscience, singuler wisdom and goodnes. And seing theys their loving aunswers, we permitted theym to departe untill yo^r gracs farther pleasur may be knowen in this behalfe. Finally, we did rede to theym the minute of theis o^r lres, and also deliverd the same minute to theym in place wher we dyd sytt in commission, which, aft^r that they w^t good deliberations had reden it, they furthw^t redeliverd to us ayen, saying that they wer therw^t contented, which ordre we used to thentent they should not thinke that we do certify yo^r grace otherwise than they have sayd to us. It is a common fame and brute in theis parteis that yo^r grace hath remitted the payments of such Sommes of mony as wer demaunded of yo^r gracs subjects of yo^r citie of London, w^{ch} fame and brute (as it is thowght) hath don but litle good her, [1525].

16. FROM ARCHBISHOP WARHAM TO WILLIAM WHETNAL
AND OTHERS.

(Appointing a certain day for them to certify to him the feelings of the inhabitants as to a proposal for founding a grammar-school at Tunbridge.)

I commende me to you; and where at my late beeing at Tunbrige I required you and other thinhabitanter of the same towne and of other places ny adioynnyng, to be here before me this day, to shewe you and their myndes in writing whethir ye and they shuld thinke it more expedient to have a free Scole of grammer founded at Tunbrige, for xl scolers, mennys children of those parties, and they afterward tobe promoted to Oxford, having exhibition for their fyndyng at scole there, orelles to have the contynuanee of the prioury there, as it hath be used in tymes past; so it is that a good multitude of the said towne, according to the said appoynctement, hath be here with me this present day, shewing aswel by mowthe as by writing, that they thinke it more expedient to have the continuation of the said monastery, w^t the priour and his convent, thanne to have a grammer scole; and they have presented a booke of diverse persons names, their neybour, in a grete nombre, which, as they saieth, be of like mynde in that behalve.

And considering that ye were assigned to be here this day w^t me in like wise, to make aunswer of yo^r opinion and mynde in this mater, with the names of asmany as be of like mynde as ye be of, I gretely mervaile that ye comme not hider to shewe yo^r aunswer therein accordingly. Wherefore I requir you to be here w^t me on Monday next, by ix of the klok before noone, to make and ley in yo^r aunswere in this behalve, as ye shal thinke good, w^t the namys of asmany other persons as be of yo^r opinion and mynde in the same mater: to thentent that I may certify my Lord Cardinal thereof accordingly; and yo^r myndes knowen I shalbe glad that suche order and wey may be taken in this mater as ye shal thinke may best stand with the pleasire of God and the common weale of thinhabitantes of that cuntrey, now beeing and which hereafter shalbe: and in case ye can not thus certify me by Monday next, then I requir you to certify me of yo^r mynde, and of others of like myndes, at Maidestonne, on Sancte Thomas day next commyng. If ye had made yo^r aunswer herein, I mought have certified my said Lord Cardinal thereof furthw^t, howbeit by yo^r delay I am compelled to differre the said certificat. At Otford, the last day of Juny [1525].

WILL^AM CANTUAR.

Addressed: To my right welbeloved William Whetnal, William Waller, and Henry Fane, and to every of theym.

Indorsed: Thinhabytauntes of Tunbridge had rather theyre Pryory stode still than to have a schole for xl children, to be sent thence to Oxford.

17. FROM THE SAME TO CARDINAL WOLSEY.

(The state of feeling among the inhabitants of Tunbridge, at the suppression of the Priory there, and the proposal to found a free school.)

Pleace it yo^r grace to understand, that upon sight of yo^r late letters, I wrote immediately to certeyne substantial persons of Tunbrige and theraboutes, to be advertised by theym, what murmur or brutes were made there concernyng the prioury there, and if any suche were, the same tobe diligently suppressed. Whereupon this morenyng I have receved aunswere

that there is none other rumour or communication there, but only that thinhabitanter of that towne, and others ny adioynnyng to the same, had levyr to have the said place not suppressed than the contrary, if it might so stand with the Kinges Highnes pleasir and yo^r graces; whereunto they referreth their desires and myndes in that behalve. Howbeit reaporthe is made, that one Henry Fane and one or ij other persons, lately beeing in variance and syte with the late Priour, wold be glad to have the said priory suppressed, for fere lest if the Priour shuld be restored, the said plee shuld contynue. And therefore, as it is sayd, if any rumo^r be in this mater, it ryseth by the said Henry Fane and his adherentes. As toching the parochial prieste of Cranebroke, the trouth is, that this mater was publisshed by hym, to have the advyses of thinhabitanter of Cranebroke, by the desir of theym of Tunbrige, bicause this mater concerneth aswel the commoditie of bothe places as the hole cuntrey, and exhibition of their children at scole; and for this consideration they of Tunbrige required the myndes and counseile of theym of Cranebroke, for excluding of variance betwene theym. Wherein they of Cranebroke be of like mynde and desire as they of Tunbrige, submitting theym selves therein holely to the Kinge's graces pleasir and yours. I assure yo^r grace that if any suche rumour had be, I beeing so nye to suche places, doubte not but by some of my frendes thereabouts, I shuld rather have herd of it than other folkes beeing at London. And whethir it be better to have the said inhabitantes upon light persons, bettere suspected of making of murmours and brutes, or not, I remitte that to yo^r graces singular wisdom. For if thies men shuld be suspected w^toute a reasonable and sufficient ground, it might be occasion to cause theym to grudge, where they nothing grudged or murmured before. At Otford, the third Day of July, [1525?]

At yo^r graces commaundement,

WILL^AM CANTUAR.

Addressed: To the most reverend fadre in God, and my very singular good lord, my Lord Cardinal of Yorke and Legate de latere is good grace.

18. FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

(The Archbishop's Mint in the Palace at Canterbury.)

Pleace it your good grace, so it is I am enformed, that ther be newe ordynaunces of late made, aswell concernyng the Kinges graces Mynte in his Towre of London, as other Myntes in other places of this his graces Realme in times passed used and contynued, for the comon and usuall curse of the Kinges graces coyne from hensforth. Fforasmoch as I doubte not but that your grace well knowithe, that by the grauntes of dyverse kinges, the Kinges graces noble progenitors, I and my predecessors, Archiebishops of Canturbery, have alwayes hadd in the palace of Canturbery a mynte for coynage, to the grete commoditie and ease of the Kinges graces subjectes wⁱⁿ this countie of Kent and otherwise, to thentent that I wold gladly that my said mynte shuld in like maner and forme be ordred according to the said newe ordynaunces, I besече yo^r good grace to shewe and declare yo^r graces ferther pleasur and mynde in this behalf, to my servaunt, Ewyn Tomson, this berar, kepar of my said mynte. Uppon knowlege wherof, I have commaunded hym to folowe the same in every thing accordingly. In good faithe, my lord, I desire not this for any grete profecte or advauntaige, that I shall have by this coynage, but only for the ease of suche the Kinges graces subjects as may more commodiously reasorte to Canturbery then to the Tower. At Knoll, the xvijth day of November [1528].

At yo^r graces commaundement,

WILLIAM CANTUAR.

Indorsed : To the moost Reverende father in God, and my very singuler good lorde, my lorde Cardinall of Yorke and legate de latere his good grace.

19. FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

(Bespeaking his favour for Owen Tomson, the Master of his Mint at Canterbury, in his suit with one Robert Trappys, a goldsmith, of London.)

Pleace it yo^r grace to understand that where one Owen Tomson, which hath for the space of vj yeres occupied my Mynte

at Cantrebury, sueth to yo^r grace tobe his good and graciose lord in a mater of variance depending betwene hym and one Robert Trappys, goldesmith, of London, which, as I am informed, surmiseth that his servaunt delivered to the said Tomson certen bolen tobe coigned, ammounting to a greate summe, and thereupon hath or intendeth to have the said Tomson condemned in London, contrary to right and good conscience, by reason that he is of greate power and substance, as it is sayd; truly I nevyr cowde perceve but that the said Tomson hath dealed wel and truely in al matiers betwene hym and me; and greate piety it were that he shuld be put to any wrong, or be oppressed by might or power. Wherefore, in moste humble wise I beseche yo^r grace tobe good and graciose lorde to hym in his reasonable and rightuose sueties to yo^r grace, the rather for this my humble instance and power petition. Whereby it is tobe trusted that yo^r grace shal doo a right meritoriose and charitable acte, bynding hym tobe yo^r perpetual bedesman. At Otford, the xxijth Day of Aprile.

At yo^r graces commaundement,

WILL^{AM} CANTUAR.

Addressed: To the moste Reverend fadre in God, and my very singular good lorde, my Lorde Cardinal of Yorke and Legate de latere is good grace.

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20. FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

(Respecting his Mint at Canterbury.)

Pleace it yo^r grace to understand that aswel by my brother the Prior of my church of Christeschurch which was lately with yo^r grace, as by the kepar of my Mynte at Canterbury, this berar, named Ewyn Tomson, I am informed, that of yo^r singular goodenes it hath pleaced yo^r grace to be favorably mynded towards me and my said church, for the contynuanee of my said mynte, according to the grauntes of the Kinges graces most noble progenitours, and by his highnes lettres patentes confirmed. For the which yo^r graces most loving favours in my most humile and hertiest wise I thanke yo^r grace, and

where for the spedyer accomplishment of this thing yo^r grace commaunded my sayd servaunt, this berar, to repayr to Robert Amadas,¹ whose advise and counceile is that I shuld sue to the Kinges grace for the obteynnyng of a bill tobe signed with his graces hand, after the tenour of this bill herein closed. Howbeit I thought it not convenient for me to move his highnes therein untill I may first understand yo^r graces farther mynde and pleasir in the same. For if yo^r grace be contented to have suche a bill signed by the Kinges highnes for yo^r Myntes at Yorke and Duresme, that knowen, if yo^r grace wil so advise me, I shal sue to the Kinges grace for a like bille for my Mynte at Canterbury. In this matier, I humbly beseche yo^r grace I may have knowlege of your pleasir by this berar. At Knolle, the third Day of Decembre, [1528?]

At yo^r graces commaundement,

WILL^{AM} CANTUAR.

Addressed: To the most Reverend father in God and my very singular good lord, my lorde Cardinal of Yorke and legate de latere is good grace.

21. FROM THE SAME TO LORD ROCHFORD AND OTHERS OF
THE COUNCIL.

(Giving a detailed account of his interview with Deputies from the Commons of Kent, who "desired to have their loan-money again.")

In my hartie wise I commende me to you, lykewise thanking you for many kyndenes, and for the peynes taken in the cause of William Cheke, my baily of the Bailywike of Croidon, in whiche cause I have lately receivyd lettres from the Lady of Norffolk, in which she writeth that she supposith I will be at Lamhith shortely, albeyt I entende the contrarie, for I have many thinges to be donne in thoes partes. Wherefore, inasmoche as she and I be no indifferent judges in this behalf because the matier concernyth me for my officer, and hyr for her servauntes, I pray you to take peynes to ende yt. I desier nothing but right and justice, according to the Kinges graces lawes, ffor in caas this deyde shuld not be punisshede officers

¹ The King's goldsmith.

woll be lowthe to serve the Kinges graces writes, specially when they be layde and watched for to the peryll of theyr lives, as the said William was, (as I am enformyd,) watched for twisse or thrisse. My Lady of Norffolke is very good, and I have bene likewise to hir, but she excusith hir servauntes holy by hir lettres, and regardith litle the matier.

Also I advertise you, that one Sher' Thursday last, I was secretly informyd, that a gret numb're of yomen of the countrey woll shortely com to me, to desier me to be a meane for thaym to the Kinges grace, to have thair loone money agayne. Wheruppon I sent the discretest of my house to stopp all such as I thought wold be advised by me, that they shuld in nowise appere in suche assemblies, wherby I suppose a good numb're of the substanciall yomen of this countrey w^d drew thaymselves and apperyd not. Nevertheles, on tuesday in the Esterweke laste, came to my maner at Knoll¹ a multitude of yomen of the countrey, to the numb're of one hundreth as it was supposed by thaym that sawe thaym, and they so assemblyd toguyther, I sent downe unto them to know the cause of thair assembly; wherunto they aunswered it was to speke w^t me. I than sent word unto thaym, that I wold be contented to hyre theyr matier by relation of v or vj of the discretest of theym, for to speke w^t the hole multytude I thought it shuld do rather harme than good. When the said vj persones wer comen byfore me, I demaundyd of theym what was the cause of thair commyng in suche multitude, and what they entendyd. They made aunswer that they and theyr neighbors at home being poore and nedy desyeryd me to be a meane to the Kinges grace to have thair loone money, affirmyng that they caused the grete numb're of thair neyghbors which had lyke cause to com, to tary at home, and cam but ij or iij of a paroch, because they wold make no gret multitude to the discontentation of the Kinges moost noble grace. And than I said to thayme that they had not chosen the best tyme to speke in this mater, consyderyng the gret charges that the Kinges grace hath hadd lately, and ferther was lyke to susteyne, if it shuld

¹ Knole, in Sevenoaks, was purchased by Bouchier of Lord Say and Sele, 34 Hen. VI. It continued to be a residence of the Archbishops till Cranmer resigned it, with other palaces, to the Crown, 29 Hen. VIII. The King frequently visited Warham at Knole. It is now the seat of the Dowager Countess of Amherst.

fortune his grace to entre in to warrys, which yet hangyd (as far as I know) in doubte. And ferther I requiryd of theym to shew who wer they that counsellyd or moved thaym at that tyme so to assemble; and they aunswerd forsothe, povertie only, affirmyng that many of thaym, and specyally of thair naybors that tarryd at home, lackyd bothe mete and money; and sayd ferther uppon thair othe, that no creature lyving counsellyd thaym in this behalf, but their own myndes, one complaynyng to an other of theyr poverties. Albeyt I was enformed that some usyd the office of somners in that behalf, of whom I wold have made inquisition, or this tyme which I have refrayned to do hitherto, bycause I wold gyve noo maner occasionne to incense the yncertayne and wavering braynes of the said multitude. For commonly in a multitude the more parte lack both wytt and discretion, and yet the same more part wold take upon theym to rule the wisor. Over this I rehersyd unto thaym that aboutt two yeres passed they made a lyke assembly, and came to me in lyke maner, and for the same cause of the loone money, w^t the which unlauffull assembly the Kinges grace was than not a lytle displeasyd, and howe the Kinges grace and his moost honorable counsell wold take this new assemble I shewyd thaym I could not tell. They aunswerd that they trustyd verely that the Kinges grace wold take noo displeasure for the asking of the said loone, inasmoch as they wer his true subjectes and wold lyve and dye in his cause, trustyng that the Kinges grace wold have pietie and compassion uppon theyr poverties. Than I askyd thaym why they came to me for this matier rather than to other of the commissioners. They aunswered, bycause I was one of the chief of the commissioners, and one that chiefly practysed the loone w^t thaym that so assemblyd. And theruppon they humbly beseched me to be meane to declar thair povertie to the Kinges grace, and to speke for the having agayne of thair loone. Fynally, I shewyd that if they absteynyng from suche unlawfull assembles, wold make thayr petytyon discretely in writing, I wold be contentyd to offer yt up to the Kinges grace w^t the furtheraunce of my good worde, for I saide to thaym that apon thayr wordes I wold make no relation or suyt for thayme to the Kinges grace, lest percas I shuld say more or lesse in thayr cause than they wold be contentyd w^tall. Wherunto they aunswerd that they had lytle wyt to make suche a supplication,

and also could gete no man that wold write for thaym in this cause, seing it concernyth the Kinges highnes. For they had desyeryd diverse to do yt for thaym, which hadd refusyd. And therfor they desyryd that som of my folkes might helpe to forme theyr sayd supplication. But I sayd unto thaym, that I wold not be of thair counsell in that behalf, neyther any of myne shuld wryt therin. And at all this communication wer present, Sir Edward Wotton, Knight, Maister Thomas Willughby, sergiaunt at the lawe, and Richard Clement, of the mote, Esquier. And so this company departyd contentyd w^t myne aunswer as far as I could perceyve. Albeyt I was enformyd that some lewde person emonge thaym spake unfyitting wordes after they had been in the town and drunke theyr fill. And whether they woll come any more, or bring any supplication, or what ferther they woll doo, I can not tell; desyryng you to have yo^r advise what aunswer I shall best make unto thaym, if they or any other shall come unto me for the said matier. I have been enformyd that diverse hard and thretnyng wordes have bene spokene by diverse of thaym whiche wer afore me, ayenst thaym which promysed to come w^t thaym and disapointyd thaym. But I trust in god ther shall no such thing fortune in thes partes. I have this by fayre wordes aunswerd and partely contentyd two assembles which have comen unto me in this matier, thinkyng verely that by fayre wordes and jentyll interteynyng they woll be better ordred than by rigorouse meanys. At Otford, the xxijth day of Aprile, [1526?]

Yo^r WILL^AM CANTUAR.

Addressed: To my Lorde viscount Rochforde, and to Sir Henry Goldford, Knyght, Comptrollo^r of the Kinges graces moost honorable house, and to eche of theym.

22. THOMAS BENNET TO CARDINAL WOLSEY.

(The Archbishop declines to lend his litter for the use of the Lord Legate any further than Canterbury.)

Pleas it yo^r grace to be advertised that this day, the xxviiith of September, at v. of the clocke after none, I delivered yo^r graces lettres to my lorde of Cantorburie, whiche is content to

send hys lytter to Dover for my Lorde Legate,¹ and so to conducte hym to Cantorburie, and will in noo wyse lende the seid lytter any ferther, for he seithe he may goo ne ryde hymself, and to be with owte oon at hys nede he will not. And thus Ihū preserve yo^r grace. At Cantorbury, the foreseid day and houre; yo^r most humble chaplen and servaunt,

[1528.]

THOMAS BENET.

Addressed : To my Lorde Legates grace.

Indorsed : Doctor Benet, of the xxviiij day of September.

23. FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

(Introducing to Wolsey the celebrated "Nun of Kent," Elizabeth Barton.)

Pleace it yo^r grace. So it is that Elizabeth Barton, being a Religiouse woman, professed in Sainct Sepulchres in Cant^rbery, whiche hadd all the visions at our lady of Courtopscet, a very well disposyd and vertuose woman (as I am enformyd by hir susters), is very desierouse to speke w^t yo^r grace personally. What she hathe to say, or whether it be good or yll, I do not know; but she hathe desyeryd me to write unto yo^r grace, and to desier the same (as I do) that she may come to yo^r graces presence. Whom when your grace have herde, ye may ordre as shall pleace the same. For I assure yo^r grace she hathe made very importune sute to me to be a meane to your grace that she may speke w^t you. At Cant^rbery, the first day of October, [1528?]

At yo^r graces commaundement,

WILLIAM CANTUAR.

Addressed : To the moost Reverende father in god, and my very singular good lord, my Lorde Cardinall of Yorke, legate de latere, his good grace.

The letters speak for themselves and need little illustration. They have a double value for Kentish men;

¹ Campejus, then coming over to preside at the trial for the King's divorce.

first, as the correspondence of one of their Archbishops, a right famous man in his better days of Henry VII., before he was eclipsed by Wolsey; and secondly, for their local interest.

Otford, from which several of them are dated, the favourite residence of the Archbishop, was rebuilt by him on his quarrel with the citizens of Canterbury, at the enormous cost of £33,000. It pleased Henry VIII. to cast an eye of favour on the place, which was resigned by Cranmer to his Majesty in 1537.

The College of Maidstone, originally the parish church of St. Mary of Maidstone, created into a college by Archbishop Courtenay, was parted with by Archbishop Cranmer to Henry on the same terms and at the same time. It is now part of the estate of Lord Romney. Charring, spoken of at p. 16, followed the same fate as Maidstone and Otford. It was part of the most ancient possessions of the Church of Canterbury. Eventually it passed into the hands of the Whelers. An account of its remains at the beginning of the last century is given by Hasted. (*Hist. of Kent*, iii. 213, n.) It may be needful to state that the Chronology of the letters has been determined by internal evidence alone.

Of the persons mentioned in these letters, William Whetnal, at p. 32, was of Hextalls, in East Peckham; William Waller, of Groombridge, a collateral ancestor of the poet; Henry Fane, of Hadlow, of the lineage of the celebrated Treasurer of Charles I.'s time. Sir Edward Wotton, at p. 39, was of the Wottons of Bocton Malherbe; Richard Clement, of the Mote, in Ightham; Serjeant Willoughby, made Chief Justice, 29 Hen. VIII., was of Bore Place, in Chiddingstone.

We shall print an ancient survey of Otford in a future number.

ON ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS RECENTLY DISCOVERED AT FAVERSHAM, AT WYE, AND AT WESTWELL, IN KENT.

IN A LETTER FROM ROACH SMITH, ESQ., TO THE
HONORARY SECRETARY.

[Read at the Meeting at Canterbury.]

MY DEAR SIR,

In no branch of archæology has greater or sounder progress been made than in that which comprises the Saxon antiquities of this country, and the *Frankish* antiquities of the Continent. Contemporaneous in date, closely analogous in general character, belonging to peoples descended from a common parentage, they are mutually illustrative, and throw a strong and unsuspected light upon the conditions of our ancestors, at a period when historical information is particularly meagre and obscure. And yet, until within the last twenty or thirty years, these monuments of the grave, so authentic and expressive, were but little understood. The researches of Douglas¹ in Kent, well published and illustrated, failed in enlisting followers from among his contemporaries; and the excavations of Bryan Faussett, although they were partially brought under the observation and criticism of Douglas, remained unpublished and but little known. Our neighbours in France and Germany

¹ *Nenia Britannica*; or, a Sepulchral History of Great Britain; from the Earliest Period to the General Conversion to Christianity. By the Rev. James Douglas, F.A.S. London. 1793.

were even more slow to recognize and appreciate this class of their more remote national antiquities; and while Celtic, Roman, and Medieval remains were zealously investigated, the Teutonic were entirely overlooked. Now, however, they occupy their proper position in archæological studies; and on the Continent, as well as in England, their importance is acknowledged and appreciated by all educated persons who possess any feeling for the history of their native country.

I will not, on the present occasion, enter upon a review of the errors of past times in reference to the Saxon antiquities of our island, nor trace the progress of that process of careful comparison by which we have been enabled to correct mistakes, to place the study upon a firm and rational footing, and assist inquiry by accumulated facts. In the present stage of research, to avoid retrogression, it will be sufficient for me to refer to the works in which the subject has been fully discussed,¹ and accompanied by those illustrations which are so indispensable in studies of this peculiar kind; and I shall limit my remarks to the additional materials which have been discovered, during the present year, at Faversham, at Wye, and at Westwell; and (thanks to the exertions of Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Thurston, and yourself) have been saved from the disastrous fate which, in so many instances, has befallen similar remains.

¹ *Nenia Britannica*, 1793.—*Inventorium Sepulchrale*; by Bryan Faussett, from 1757 to 1773, printed 1856.—*Collectanea Antiqua*, 1843–1858.—*Archæological Album*, 1845.—*Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*, 1850.—*The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, 1852.—*Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, 1855.—*On Anglo-Saxon Antiquities, with a Particular Reference to the Faussett Collection*; by T. Wright, in the *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. vii., 1855.—*Burial and Cremation*; by J. M. Kemble, in the *Archæological Journal*, No. 48.—*Fairford Graves*; by W. M. Wylie, 1852.—*History and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight*; by G. Hillier, 1856.—*The Burning and Burial of the Dead*; by W. M. Wylie, in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii., 1858. For a complete list, including foreign works, see pp. 55, 56, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*.

We learn from the historian Bede, that shortly after the Romans finally departed from Britain, *three* different tribes of the Teutonic race, at intervals, settled in the island. These were the Jutes, who occupied Kent and the Isle of Wight; the Saxons, forming the divisions known as the East Saxons, the Middle Saxons, the South Saxons, and the West Saxons; and the Angles, who established themselves in extensive portions of the east, the west, and the north: the East Angles, the Mercians, and Northumbrians. That the historian's statement is correct in the main, dialects, physiognomy, the names of places, and other remarkable peculiarities seem to certify, as well as the circumstances under which the various branches of the Teutonic race found themselves placed at the period of the decadence and fall of the Roman power in Britain. It will be extremely interesting if the remains in the graves of the different districts should be found confirming our belief in the information given us by Bede. Up to the present time our researches certainly seem to support the historian's statement. The beautiful circular fibulæ from Faversham, as well as the pendent ornaments, are common in the Saxon cemeteries in Kent, while they are of rare occurrence in those of other parts of England. I need only refer you to the discoveries made at the sites explored by Douglas and Bryan Faussett, at the cemeteries at Osengal,¹ Stowting,² Sittingbourne,³ Minster in Thanet, at Maidstone, and in other localities; and then direct comparison with the contents of Saxon cemeteries in Cambridgeshire, in Suffolk, in Norfolk, in Northampton, and in the west of England, to ensure conviction of the marked difference which exists in these ornaments. The circular fibulæ of Kent are seldom met with in the districts mentioned

¹ Collectanea Antiqua, vol. iii.

² A Brief Account of the Parish of Stowting, etc.; by the Rev. Frederick Wrench. London. 1845.

³ Col. Ant., vol. i.

above; but others, of baser material and of different forms and decoration, prevail. The same distinction in other sepulchral objects is almost equally marked; while at the same time, in the weapons and umboes of shields, and in other particulars, as well as in the general mode of sepulture, there is a striking accordance, such as would be expected in tribes springing from a common source. The contents of the graves in the Saxon cemetery at Chessell, in the Isle of Wight¹ (which island Bede states was peopled, as well as Kent, by the Jutes), have some striking points of resemblance to those of the graves of Kent, such as seem to be common only to these two districts.

Although, unfortunately, the circumstances under which the Faversham antiquities were obtained,² deprive them of the advantage accompanying such as are taken from graves carefully excavated, they are nevertheless of great value to the archæologist, who, from comparison, will be able to classify most of them. In the plates of Faussett's 'Inventorium Sepulchrale' will be found most of the types of the ornaments, of the weapons, and of those miscellaneous objects which it was the custom of our Saxon forefathers to deposit with the dead. The largest gold *fibula*, of which the framework only remains, is of the same class as the superb perfect example from Kingston-down, figured in plate i. In its incomplete condition it is useful as showing the manner in which the cells were constructed previous to their being filled with pastes and coloured stones. Some of the pendants, fibulæ, and buckles supply us with new varieties; and from their elegant design, good workmanship, and rich material, strengthen our convictions of

¹ History and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight; by G. Hillier. 1856.

² They were collected, from the workmen engaged in the railway excavations, by Mr. Gibbs, to whose good taste and vigilance their preservation is entirely due.

the superior wealth and refinement of the Kentish Saxons; and show how much they had profited by Roman art and artists.

The most novel feature in Mr. Gibbs's collection, and to which I direct your especial attention, is the fine ornamented plates, with rings and other appendages: they appear to have decorated the harness of a sumptuously caparisoned horse, which there is every reason to suppose was interred with the body of its master, doubtless a thane of distinction. Before the ancient Germans had been much influenced by intercourse with the Romans, and when cremation was more generally practised, we find that burning the war-horse was occasionally one of their funeral ceremonies. Tacitus¹ observes, "*sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adjicitur;*" and the practice was continued down to a late period: traces of it indeed remain to the present day. Of course only persons of wealth or eminence could afford to make such a costly sacrifice.

The glass vessels comprise the more ordinary varieties which are found in Saxon graves. Rare as they are now become, they must have been in general use among the Saxons, although, from the fragile nature of the material, they are seldom preserved entire, except when graves are excavated intentionally and with great care. It is said that in past times so many of these cups were taken from graves at Wodensborough, near Sandwich, that on one occasion they were used at a harvest-home in a neighbouring farmhouse for beer-glasses. An example of the exceedingly rare type, of which varieties are given in plate xlv. of the '*Inventorium Sepulchrale*,' for many years did duty upon the tea-table of a Kentish lady as a sugar-basin. Although these vessels, like most of the Saxon remains, are of so peculiar a fabric and character that they cannot be mistaken for Roman, yet it is easy

¹ De Mor. Germ., cap. xxvii.

from comparison to see that they are derived from a Roman origin or influence. When filled, the more globular ones could only be securely held in the hollow of the hand, as we see them depicted in festive scenes in Saxon illuminations; and to these could most appropriately be applied the term *tumbler*, for they required to be emptied before they could be replaced upon the table, an alternative prescribed by those habits of the Teutonic nations which have been so fatally transmitted to our own times; an inherent blemish which has ever sullied the national character. Other vessels of domestic use are frequently met with in the Saxon graves, particularly a kind of ornamented *situla* or bucket, and bronze basins, used probably for meats and drinks when placed upon the table: of the latter of these there is a perfect example in Mr. Gibbs's collection, and the fragments of a larger one among the remains obtained by Mr. Thurston, from Westwell.

In the large broadsword may be recognized the *spatha* in common use by many of the Roman auxiliaries, and by the Romans themselves in later times. From their weight and length they could only be wielded by horsemen. Shorter swords or dirks are occasionally found, generally of a knife-shape; and knives of all sizes, which, from their universal occurrence in the graves, no Saxon—man, woman, or child—seems to have been unprovided with. To these was applied the general term *seax*, from the largest kind with which the she-fiend was armed in her contest with Beowulf,¹ down to the diminutive *nail-seax* of the lady's toilette. But the spear may be called the national weapon. Of this the graves furnish numerous varieties. Some of them, such as the remarkable specimen from the grave at the foot of Wyehill, the

¹ "She beset then the hall-stranger,
and drew her seax,
broad, and brown-edged."—*Beowulf*, l. 3089.

larger kinds in Mr. Gibbs's collection, as well as in those of Faussett and Mr. Rolfe, are equivalent to the Roman *pilum*; the smaller and slighter represent the *framea* mentioned by Tacitus¹ as inseparable from the German warrior. Of the latter an excellent example is afforded in that which we took from the grave excavated in the cemetery upon the summit of the down at Wye.

You will not fail to observe that among the sepulchral remains acquired by Mr. Gibbs are some which are Roman. This is not an unusual occurrence, especially in the vicinity of the sites of Roman towns and villages. The Saxons appear to have selected in such cases the burial-places of their predecessors: a fact of some weight in a review of the general information we are obtaining from these discoveries, and in the deductions and conclusions they may reasonably supply. Such conclusions will be best promoted by a careful accumulation of facts, which are the groundwork and basis of all sciences: and archæology is a science, and as a science it should be estimated and studied.

With every good wish, and with a full appreciation of the services you have rendered and are so zealously rendering to archæology,

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

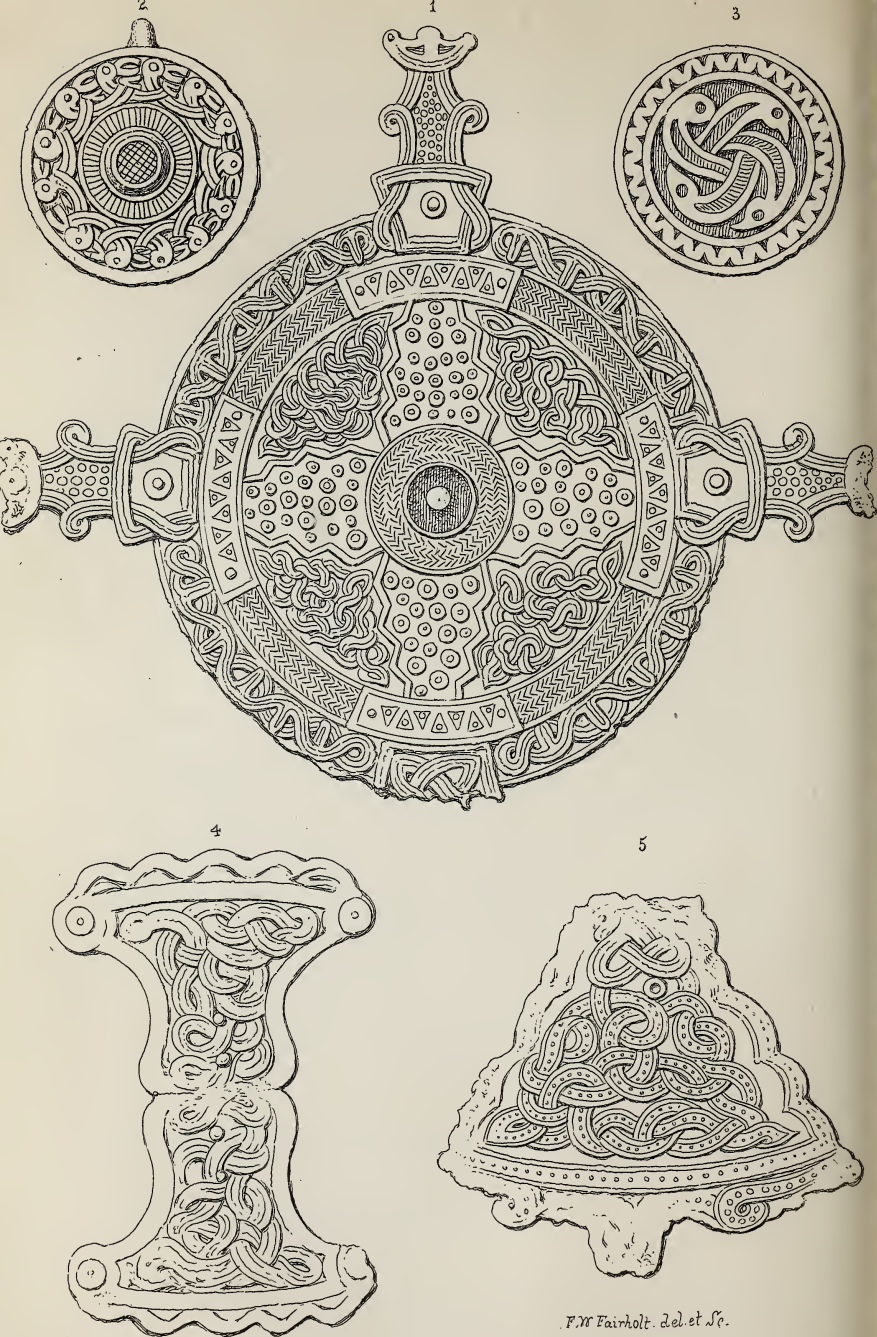
C. ROACH SMITH.

Temple Place, Strood, July 26, 1858.

To the Rev. L. B. Larking,

Hon. Sec. Kentish Archæological Society.

¹ "Hastas, vel ipsorum vocabulo *frameas* gerunt, angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri, et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus vel eminus pugnent; et eques quidem scuto *frameaque* contentus est." —De Mor. Germ. c. vi.



F. W. Fairholt. del. et sc.

ANGLO-SAXON HORSE-ORNAMENTS discovered at FAVERSHAM.

(THE ORIGINAL SIZE.)

Description of the Plates.

PLATE I.—Figs. 1 to 4 afford good examples of varieties of Anglo-Saxon fibulæ of the circular class. A comparison with those represented in plates ii. and iii. of the ‘*Inventorium Sepulchrale*’ is requisite in order to understand the original condition of the fibulæ, those of the Faussett collection being in a perfect state, while most of the Feversham specimens have lost their central setting. This was probably an umbo of mother-of-pearl, set with a small garnet.

PLATE II.—Fig. 1 exhibits one of the highest class of Saxon fibulæ, of which the large example from Kingston-down (*Invent. Sepul. pl. i. fig. 1*) is the richest and most elegant: it is also the most perfect, retaining the settings of all the cells, which are wanting in the fibula before us. It is probable that, like this, the cells of fig. 1 were filled with turquoises, garnets, and mother-of-pearl. Figs. 2 and 4, Gold Pendants. The surface of Fig. 2 is punched with small concave dots, and crossed by bars of an elegant cable pattern, surmounted by a boss in the centre. Fig. 4 is covered with small semicircular coils with inverted volutes, and set with fine triangular garnets placed crossways from a circular central stone, which is wanting. In the loop of Fig. 2 is a gold pin or plug, which it is stated was in it when discovered. These pendants or *bullæ* are varieties of those in the Faussett collection, as well as of several in the collection of Lord Londesborough, from graves at Wingham.¹ Fig. 3, Girdle Buckle, in bronze gilt, or covered with a plate of thin gold punched with rows of minute circles and triangles. Figs. 5, 6, and 7, are other examples of buckles appertaining to female costumes. Figs. 6 and 7, in bronze gilt, are particularly remarkable for the intricacy and elaborate work of the patterns, which the artist alone can properly describe, although the practised eye is familiar with similar designs in Saxon and Frankish works of art. Fig. 7 may be compared with fig. 22, plate xi., of the ‘*Inventorium Sepulchrale*.’

The modes of construction of these fibulæ may be thus described:—Fig. 1, Plate II., was composed of two separate plates of gold enclosed by a band round the edges. In the other classes (Plate I.), the fibulæ are formed of a slightly hollowed plate, either of bronze or of silver, upon which is laid a disk of gold with cells of varied arrangement, interspersed with slightly raised chased works and scrolls of corded gold wire; or they are fabricated out of one piece of metal only, the cells and chased work being cast, together with the frame, in one piece.

PLATE III. represents the richly embossed plates which are presumed to have formed the ornaments of horse furniture. They are of bronze, with some slight insertions of silver. Fig. 5 is a fragment of a circular plate, such as Fig. 1, but larger. Fig. 2 and 3 are copper-gilt flat ornaments. Fig. 2 has been furnished with a loop for fastening to a ring. They are engraved of the actual size.

¹ Remains of Pagan Saxondom, pl. ix.

ON THE SURRENDEN CHARTERS.

THE two ancient documents illustrated in this paper are from the Surrenden Collection, of which, by the kindness of Sir Edward Dering, I have been, for many years, allowed the unrestricted examination; his generous confidence has even permitted me, during that time, to retain its choicest specimens in my own custody for literary purposes. The best return that can be made for this confidence, and the most agreeable to Sir Edward Dering, is to put our native county in possession of all the abundant materials for its history which this Collection has developed; I shall therefore, under the sanction of our Council, from time to time supply our annual volume with the most interesting selection which I can make from the charters and other documents thus entrusted to my care.

It is evident, from private correspondence, and little notes jotted here and there in family day-books and accounts, that Sir Edward Dering, the founder of the Surrenden Library, devoted himself, at a very early age, to literary pursuits, and laid, while very young, the foundation of that scholarship which distinguished him among the country gentlemen of his age. In his private accounts, soon after he came of age, we have proofs that he was commencing the formation of his library, even during his father's lifetime. There are constant entries of considerable sums expended in the purchase of books, running through a period of ten or twelve years, during which time, if we may judge from the mutilated catalogues yet remaining, and the character of the volumes

ever and anon turning up at book-sales, with his stamp upon them, he had collected a very valuable library, now, alas! entirely dispersed.

Other documents of the same date prove that he had at that time acquired a considerable proficiency in Anglo-Saxon literature. Judging from the large accumulation of materials for county history, there is every appearance that he contemplated a work of that nature. Among them is a collection of tracings of brasses and monuments in Kent churches, many of the originals of which are no longer in existence. In this pursuit he was assisted by Philipot, whose hand is patent throughout, especially in the drawings of brasses and coat-armour.¹

Philipot perhaps owes much of the materials of his History to his early association with Sir Edward. Be this as it may, it is quite clear that, at the period of which we speak, Dering, in conjunction with Philipot, was ardently devoting himself to the preparation of a history of this county.

In pursuance of this object, or with some more enlarged view, he obtained, in 1627, a warrant from the Council, authorizing him to examine the Public Records without the usual charge of the exorbitant fees then demanded of all searchers. This warrant, with the autograph signatures of the Council, is still preserved among the muniments at Surrenden.

The ensuing twelve years of Sir Edward's life were devoted to the pursuit of these antiquarian studies, until his embarkation on the stormy sea of politics in 1640.

About the year 1630 he was Lieutenant of Dover Castle, evidently at that time a rich depository of re-

¹ My friend Mr. Herbert Smith, under the kind sanction of the late Cholmeley Dering, Esq., the owner of the manuscript, has copied them all, with a view to future publication, as valuable records of monumental memorials. Some of these monuments are no longer extant, and all are much defaced. Four specimens of these tracings are inserted in our present volume.

cords. Sir Robert Cotton, who seems to have been on terms of intimacy with Sir Edward, probably took this opportunity, of his friend being in authority there, to apply to him for contributions to his matchless collection then in course of formation.

In the Cottonian Manuscripts (Julius C. iii. p. 191) occurs the following letter from Sir Edward Dering to Sir Robert, announcing his discovery, among the records of Dover Castle, of an original copy of Magna Charta,¹ and indicating that there had been a previous correspondence between them on the subject of the charters then in the Castle.

“Sir,—I received your very wellcome lettre, whereby I find you abundant in courtesyes of all natures. I am a greate debtor to you, and those obligacions likely still to be multiplyed; as I confesse so much to you, so I hope to witness itt to posterity.

“I have sent up two of your books, which have much pleased me. I have heere y^e charter of K. John, dat^d att Running Meade; by y^e first safe and sure messenger it is yours. So are the Saxon Charters, as fast as I can copy them; but, in the meane time, I will close King John in a boxe, and send him. I shall much long to see you at this place, where you shall comand the heart of

“Your affectionate freind and servant,

“EDWARD DERING.

“Dover Castle, May 20, 1630.”

At this period, then, he was evidently acquainted with Anglo-Saxon; and though a student of manuscripts, not yet a collector. No antiquary would have so freely transferred to a brother collector such a precious document as an original of Magna Charta.

Unfortunately the invaluable record thus presented by Dering is no longer in Cotton's Collection. When, and how, and whither it was removed, it is impossible now to conjecture; it certainly was not among the manuscripts destroyed by the fire, for long before that

¹ Or rather the “Articles;” *vide* note, p. 53.

period, even as early as 1696, it had disappeared. Dr. Smith, in his Preface to the Catalogue of the Cottonian Manuscripts (1696), deploring the spoliations which the Library had then sustained, says:—"Memini me chartam authenticam R. Joannis, in qua jura et libertates Angliæ stabiliuntur, sigillis Baronum qui tum aderant appensis munitam, à D. Edwardo Deering Cantiano, equestris dignitatis viro, in tesseram observantiæ et amoris quibus erga D. Cottonum fundatorem ferebatur, A. D. 1630 datam, olim sæpe vidisse et manibus meis tractasse, quæ nescio quo malo dolo sublata est."

This description would seem to imply that the Record given by Dering to Cotton, was not the great Charter itself, but the "Articles" presented by the Barons,—the schedule of their demands,—"*capita quæ Barones petunt.*" The Charter itself must have been under the Great Seal alone, whereas the "Articles" assumed the form of a Covenant,—"*Barones petunt, et dominus Rex concedit.*" They would therefore have been sealed with the Great Seal, as well as with the seals of the Barons, or rather, would have been in two parts, one under the Great Seal, the other under the seals of the Barons, which last answers to the description in Smith's preface, though it certainly does not satisfactorily correspond with the terms employed in Sir Edward's letter, especially where he speaks of his charter as "*dat^d att Running Meade,*" which is not the case with any of the Copies of the Articles with which we are acquainted. Still, under the impression that the decisive terms in which Dr. Smith writes would hardly have been adopted by him without the most certain knowledge that the document which he was describing was really the donation of Sir Edward Dering, I conclude that that donation was the original of the "Articles" demanded by the Barons,—the part which they sealed:¹—"The Counter-

¹ It is not difficult to account for the presence of this record at Dover

part," that which was allowed and sealed by John, being the identical copy now in the British Museum. If, however, Dering's donation was the Great Charter itself, then, according to Dr. Smith's description, that also, on its original execution, must have been attested by the seals of both parties.

Under such tutelage as Cotton's, and with the vast accumulation of muniments in Dover Castle daily courting his inspection, Dering's previous taste soon expanded itself into a passion for collecting; nor is it surprising that, while indulging it, where no public value¹ was placed upon the treasures about him, he fully availed himself of the facilities which his office afforded him. Among the stores at Surrenden is a transcript of Stephen de Penchester's Laws for governing the Castle, in Norman French, (the only copy I have yet been able to discover, and which I purpose to print in a future volume), a

Castle. Hubert de Burgh had been King John's principal Commissioner in settling the disputes with the Barons at Runnymede. The Great Charter was sealed on June 15th, 17 John. Just fifteen days after that event, John appointed him, by Letters Patent (Rot. Pat. 14 Jo. m. 21), Constable of Dover Castle. His fidelity and courage in defending it are matter of history.

On the actual day of the execution of the Charter, the King had created De Burgh Chief Justiciar of England. What more likely than that he should have consigned the "Articles," with the seals of the Barons attached, to the custody of his faithful Justiciar, who, on his appointment, fifteen days afterwards, to the wardenship of Dover Castle, carried it with him there, and deposited it among the archives of that fortress for security?

¹ Very small store seems to have been placed, at any time, on the muniments in Dover Castle. I well remember, many years ago, being informed by the then Deputy-Constable of Dover Castle, that in his early days, a room in the Castle gateway was crammed full of ancient charters, and that tailors, cobblers, and other consumers of parchment, used to resort thither, and supply their needs by a small bribe to the porter. Lyon, in his history of Dover, tells the same tale of neglect, and dates it as far back as the beginning of the last century. In modern times Mr. Rodd has recorded wholesale burnings of Dover Castle muniments. This indifference to the value of these documents must have been equally great in the time of Charles I., or Sir Edward Dering could not have so readily enriched Sir Robert Cotton's collection with this important national record.

number of plea rolls of the Castle-gate Court, and a very large quantity of the Castle muniments and accounts.

There is also at Surrenden an agreement between Sir Edward and other eminent antiquaries of the day, in which they constitute themselves a "Society of Antiquaries," and draw up rules for their government. It is in the autograph of Sir Edward Dering, as follows:—

"Antiquitas Rediviva.

"Att a chapter held y^e first of May, An^o Dⁿⁱ 1638, by the [Schollers] Students of Antiquity whose names are underwritten, itt was agreed, and concluded upon, to hold, keepe, and with best credite to preserve these articles following, viz. :—

"1^o. Imprimis, That every one do helpe and further each others studies and endeavours, by imparting and communicating (as time and other circumstances may permitt) all such bookes, notes, deedes, rolles, etc., as he hath ; for y^e expediting whereof, and that each may knowe what to borowe of other, for his best use and behoofe, itt is first concluded and promised eache to send unto other a p^rfect inventory and catalogue of all such notes, bookes, collections, etc., as they now have.

"2^o. Item, That no p^rson of this society do shewe or otherwise make knowen this or any y^e like future agreement, nor call in, nor promise to call in, any other person to this society, w^hout a particular consent first had of all this present society.

"3^o. Item, That every one do severally gather all observable collections w^h he can, concerning y^e foundation of any religious house, or castle, or publicke worke, and all memorable notes for historicall illustration of this kingdome ; or y^e geneo-logicall honour of any family therein : especially concerning y^e countyes of Kent, Huntingdon, Northampton, and Warwicke : and y^e same to communicate unto such of this society who is most interested therein.

"4^o. Item, That every one do carefully and faythfully observe and recorde all persons which have beene dignified with y^e title of knighthood, with a breife of y^e time, place, county, etc., y^e same to be disposed into such methode as att y^e next consultation shall be agreed upon.

"5^o. Item, That every one do endeavour to borrowe of other strangers, with whom he hath interest, all such bookes, notes,

rolles, deedes, etc., as he can obteyne, as well for any of his parteners as for himself.

“6°. Item, Whereas itt is entended, with care, cost, and industry, to p^rfect up certeine select, choise, and compleate treatises of armory and antiquities, which can not well be done without some preceding rough, unpolished, and fowle originall copyes: Itt is now agreed, concluded, and mutually promised, that y^e s^d principall bookes so compleated, shall not, upon forfeite of credite, be lent out from among this society to any other person whatsoever.

“7°. Item, That y^e afores^d roughe copyes be not imparted to any stranger without y^e gn^rll consent of this society.

“8°. Item, That care be providently had, not to lend, much lesse to parte with, any other peece, treatise, booke, roll, deed, etc., unto any stranger, but to such p^rsons, from whom some reasonable exchange probably be had or borrowed.

“9°. Item, That every of the rest do send unto S^r Christopher Hatton a p^rfect [note] transcript of all such heires femall of note as he can find, with y^e probates of every of them, to be methodized by him.

“10°. Item, For y^e better expediting of these studyes, by dividing y^e greate burden which through such infinite variety of particulars would arise, to the discouragement and oppressing of any one man's industry, itt is concluded and agreed to part and divide these labours as followeth, viz. that S^r Christopher Hatton shall take care to collect and register all old rolles of armes, and old parchment bookes of armes, being of equall valew, antiquity, and forme with y^e rolles.

“11°. Item, For y^e same reasons, that S^r Thomas Shirley shall collect together and enter (att large or in breife, according to such copyes as can be had) all patentes and copyes of new grantes or confirmacons of armes and creastes.

“12°. Item, For y^e same reasons, that S^r Edward Dering do gather and compose a full, compleate booke of armes, by way of ordinary.

“13°. Item, For y^e same reasons, that Mr. Dugdall do collect and copy all armoriall seales, with a breviat of y^e deedes, and y^e true dimensions of y^e seales.

“14°. Item, For y^e same reasons, that S^r Edward Dering do, sometime this somer, beginne a new system or body of Armory, with such brevity, p^rspicuity, and proper examples, as may best

be chosen : to which purpose y^e other associates have promised to send unto him such helpe, by way of originalls or coppies of all extraordinary formes of sheildes, charges, supporters, augmentations, diminutions, differences, etc., as they can furnish forth ; the same to be reveiued att y^e next chapter.

“15°. Item, For y^e same reasons, that S^r Thomas Shirley do gather the names and armes of all (or as many as can be had) mayors, sheriffes, and aldermen of London and Yorke, and of all other cityyes and townes, throughout all ages.

“16°. Item, For ye same reasons, that S^r Christopher Hatton do collect together all names and armes of knightes, to which purpose all y^e rest of y^e society are to send unto him such supply as they have : except itt be for y^e knightes of King James and King Charles, which are, by y^e paynes of Mr. Anthony Dering, allready putt into good order, for which S^r Edward Dering undertaketh.

“17°. Item, Whereas many usefull and pleasurable notes are passed and comunicated betweene y^e fores^d [schollers] students of antiquity : Now, to y^e intent that continuall recourse may ever (as occasion shall arise) be had to y^e study, bookes, and collections of him that shall so send or impart y^e same, for y^e iustifying of any transcript so received : and for y^e more quicke finding and reveiwe of y^e same, itt is further concluded and agreed, that every one shall forthwith fayrely marke every severall booke, roll, treatise, deede, etc., in his library : First, with one grⁿll note or marke of appropriation, whereby att first veiwe to know y^e owner thereof ; and then, with such other additionall marke as shall be thought fitt : that is to say,—S^r Edward Dering to marke all such as belong unto him in

this forme¹



S^r Christopher Hatton²



S^r Thomas Shirley³



And M^r Dugdall⁴ thus



And for petty small marks, these, in order as above, viz.,

X — H — S — D.

“18°. Item, When any p^rson receiveth any transcript or note from another of this society, which he is to keepe as his owne,

^{1. 2. 3. 4} See page 59.

and thereof to make use, he shall immediately marke y^e same note, and all future transcripts thereof, with y^e cheife character or marke of the sender, as above; and y^e sender of every note shall take care that all notes by him sent shall be written (as neare as may be) in y^e same paper for size of bignesse as he shall first use, whether y^e note sent do fill y^e whole sheete or but a line therein.

“19°. Item, Least that too much care of sending one to another may begett some mistake in lending one thing twice, itt is resolved and agreed, that he who sendeth or lendeth any booke, note, or roll, etc., to any other of this society, shall, att y^e sending or returne of the same, marke the same with y^e principall character or marke of the person to whom he shall so lend itt; and if itt be copyed out of any of his bookes, then to sett a little marke of y^e same forme in y^e margent of y^e s^d booke.

“20°. Lastly, To prevent y^e hazard of loosing time, by y^e trouble of severall men's taking coppies of one and y^e same thing, itt is concluded and agreed, that whosoever peruse any booke, treatise, or deed, etc., and do transcribe y^e same, he shall, att y^e very last line, if it be booke or treatise, etc., or on y^e dorse or y^e labell if itt be a deede, sett one of these two markes, **D.** or **℞.** that is to say, if y^e copy be taken verbatim, then y^e capitall letter **D.** but if breviated, then **℞.**

Edward Tering

W^m Dugdale

Mr. Hutton Thomas Stiles

¹ The saltire was Sir Edward Dering's coat-armour, or rather the coat of Morini, adopted by him.

² "Sir Christopher Hatton."—This was the first Lord Hatton, so created 1643, and great-great-grandson of John Hatton, brother of the Lord-Keeper, temp. Eliz. The garb, his mark, was from his coat-of-arms. He was Dugdale's first and great patron.

³ Sir Thomas Shirley's mark is the coat of Shirley, paley a canton ermine.

⁴ "Mr. Dugdall."—The great antiquary, Sir William Dugdale; his mark was from his coat-of-arms, a cross moline.

In the recent sale of the library of the late Cholmeley Dering, Esq. (the legatee of the personalties of his father, Sir E. Dering, who died 1811), there were many books of arms, and a transcript of all the early charters in the Surrenden Collection, with the seals carefully tricked. These were a part of the fruits of the above Resolutions; but a far more elaborate and splendid volume probably owes its existence to the same source. Dugdale, in his *Life*, by himself (p. 14, ed. 1827), says that in the summer of 1641, he, "taking with him one Mr. William Sedgwick, a skylfull armes paynter, repared first to the Cathedrall of St Paul, in the City of London, and next to the Abbey Church of Westminster, and there making exact draughts of all the monuments in each of them, copyed the Epitaphs, according to the very letter, as alsoe all armes in the windows or cutt in stone; and so done, rode to Peterborough in Northamptonshire, Ely, Norwich, Lincolne, Newarke-upon-Trent, Beverley, Suthwell, Kingston-upon-Hull, York, Selby, Chester, Lichfield, Tamworth, Warwick, and did the like in all those Cathedrall, Collegiate, Conventuall, and diuers others parochiall Churches, wherein any tombes or monuments are to be found, to the end that the memory of them, in case of that ruine then imminent, might be preserved for future and better times."

A note in the Ashmole Manuscript of this *Life*, No. 7501, says, "which drafts are in the custody of the Lord Hatton."

The volume in which these "drafts" are collected is one of exquisite beauty, and of inestimable value, as the only existing record of monuments long since passed away, and is happily preserved in our own county, in the collection of the Earl of Winchelsea, the representative of the Hattons, and with it another of no less value, containing a large collection of transcripts, made in facsimile, from ancient charters, with drawings of the seals beautifully executed. These transcripts were made for Sir C. Hatton, in 1640-1, and are above five hundred in number, from original charters, many of which are now lost. My valued friend Sir Frederick Madden, to whose kindness I am indebted for the principal materials of this note, tells me that formerly there must have been still another volume of these precious records, for Lord Winchelsea's manuscript does not contain Westminster, Ely, Norwich, Beverley, or York.

The length of this note will, I hope, be pardoned, considering the testimony which it bears to the valuable results of this early society of antiquaries, thus founded by Sir Edward Dering within the borders of our own county.

From the above statements, it would seem probable that this great collection of manuscripts was formed between 1630 and 1640,—the fatal year in which Dering began his vehement opposition to Laud, and constituted himself the adviser and leader of the restless and complaining in his county. It could hardly have been commenced *before* 1630, because no collector would have ungrudgingly “closed King John in a box and sent him away;” its formation could not have continued *after* 1640, because Sir Edward was then entirely abandoned to the all-absorbing politics of the day, taking an active and leading part on the side of the Parliamentarians,—far too active to leave him any the slightest leisure for attention to his literary pursuits.

The sources from which this collection was chiefly supplied, seem to have been the charter-chests of Christ Church and St. Augustine’s, Canterbury,—the Muniment-room of Cobham,—and the stores of Dover Castle. The muniments of Sir Edward’s own ancestral estates supplied also a large addition to his accumulations.¹

Such was the great Surrenden Collection; for nearly two centuries it has been the constant resort of historians and topographers. It is cited by them again and again. Chartularies and Documents without end are referred to, which are no longer there; they have been abstracted, by one means or another, for many years.

¹ Cade’s insurrection, it is said, caused great havoc among the Canterbury Records. The Reformation, too, had a share in their further dispersion. As to Cobham, the cruel attainder of its Lord, in the beginning of James I.’s reign, will readily account for the abstraction of its muniments while Dering was yet a child.

It is important to note with exactness these dates and details, lest a charge of illegitimate appropriation be laid upon our collector.

Let us rather take up our motto, and (in the words of our great philosopher) regard with reverence the indefatigable diligence of Sir Edward Dering, by which these treasures, dispersed and unowned, long before he was born, “*tanquam tabulæ naufragii*,” have been rescued from the deluge of time, and preserved for our instruction.

Happily, a large number of them have found a home either in the boundless collections of Sir Thomas Philipps, or the British Museum, in the latter of which, at least, they will be safe from further spoliation. It seems as though they had been, from time to time, freely lent and never returned. On the deaths of the authors or scholars who used them, they were probably found by their executors, without evidence of ownership, and so sold with other assets. If the information given me be correct, Bloomfield had free access to this Collection in preparing his 'History of Norfolk,' for I am told that numerous charters are among his papers, with the distinguishing mark appointed by Sir Edward to designate his own manuscripts, ⊗. No doubt he borrowed them, and on his death the right ownership was unknown, and they are to this day in Bloomfield's Collection, as I am informed, mingled with his other papers. Seal-collectors, too, have been cruelly unsparing in their plunder.

But, with all these drains and spoliations, a grand collection still remains, amply testifying to the lavish zeal and ardour of its founder, and sufficient to secure the gratitude and admiration of every scholar.

In examining them, the diligent antiquary and genealogist will be rewarded by the discovery of many facts which have hitherto escaped research, and will find abundant materials for elucidating those which are already familiar to us.

As an interesting picture of the mode in which many country gentlemen of that day employed their time, I cannot refrain from giving here the following extract from a letter written in the year 1639, in which Sir Edward's cousin, the learned Sir Roger Twysden, invites him to Roydon Hall, to discuss the propriety of starting their cousin Sir Harry Vane (the Treasurer) for the county, in the forthcoming Parliament.

"Where you speak of coming over hyther (though with an

if) on Saturday, I intreat you, if it please you, to doe me that favour; or rather, because I fear if it bee on Saturday you will bee going on Munday, defer your journey tyl Munday, and stay to goe on Saturday. Wee shall spend the tyme in reading, walking, or somewhat else that will beguile it."

How like the captivating picture which Cicero draws of Scipio and Lælius in their academic retreat: "Quid ego de studiis dicam, cognoscendi semper aliquid, atque discendi, in quibus remoti ab oculis populi omne otiosum tempus contrivimus"! And then in a postscript:—

"If you take so much paynes as to visit your affectionate cosen, pray bring your history of William Thorne, and I will shew you an old manuscript, sometyne of the same abbeyes, conteyning many prety miscellaneas, writ about Ed. 3 hys tyme, out of which perhaps Thorn took some part of hys History."

The two interesting facsimiles which accompany this paper are, one from Sir Edward's own muniments, and the other from those of Cobham.

The former is a grant by Godwin (probably the Earl of Kent) to Leofwine the Red, of certain swine-pastures at Swidrædingden (which is, no doubt, Surrenden), at a fixed rent, which Leofsunu appears to have held on the same terms. With reference to this charter, my late lamented friend J. M. Kemble, in a letter to me, writes as follows:—

"Leofsunu was no doubt Leofwine's father, or brother, or other near relation. Leofwine the Red was not Earl Godwine's son, who had estates at Horton; both are mentioned, as well as Leofsunu, in a charter of Godwine, containing marriage settlements on the espousals of his sister with Brihtric (Codex Dipl. Ævi Saxonici, No. 732), to which document Sired and Ælfsige cild are parties. The date of the said Charter is about 1016–1020."

Our charter is of about the same date.¹ The lands to

¹ Livingus, *alias* Leovingus, the principal witness, was Archbishop (the twenty-eighth) from 1013 to 1020.

if) on Saturday, I intreat you, if it please you, to doe me that favour; or rather, because I fear if it bee on Saturday you will bee going on Munday, defer your journey tyl Munday, and stay to goe on Saturday. Wee shall spend the tyme in reading, walking, or somewhat else that will beguile it."

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Our charter is of about the same date.¹ The lands to

¹ Livingus, *alias* Leovingus, the principal witness, was Archbishop (the twenty-eighth) from 1013 to 1020.

¶ Her sprutelād on ðysan geƿrite þæt goopine gean in leoppine ƿeada n dæsdannes æt spihƿædingdanne on ēce ȝrife. to
habbanne 7 to sellanne on dæge 7 æfter dæge ðam ðe him leofost ȝy. æt þon sƿeatte ðe leof sunu him gelaan ƿeolde. þæt
feore ƿeas penega 7 ƿa ƿund ȝeahra am bƿa corines. nu ann leoppine þæt dannes ðon ðe bocain to handa gega æt
his dæge. nu ȝ þæs to ge ƿittnesse. lȝfinge bi ƿceop. 7 æl ƿær abbud. 7 se hƿed æt crufdes cȝrcean. 7 se hƿed æt ƿce
augustine. 7 ȝrƿed. 7 æl ƿfise ald. 7 æl ƿelue. 7 man ȝ ober godman binnan bi ƿus 7 bƿita

L T W D O F D A D T L I V O

Ther sprutelad on dy san ge pite þ god pine ge
habbanne 7 to sellanne on dæge 7 æfter dæge
feopentig penega 7 to a pund 7 eahta ambra
hirdage. Nu is þyres to ge pittnesse. lyfinge bi
augustine. 7 7 med. 7 ælfsige cib. 7 ælþeuc.

L T W D O T

ond Rachel
ad chaise
r compaign
no emme
nans quel
Hafte pco

Willi

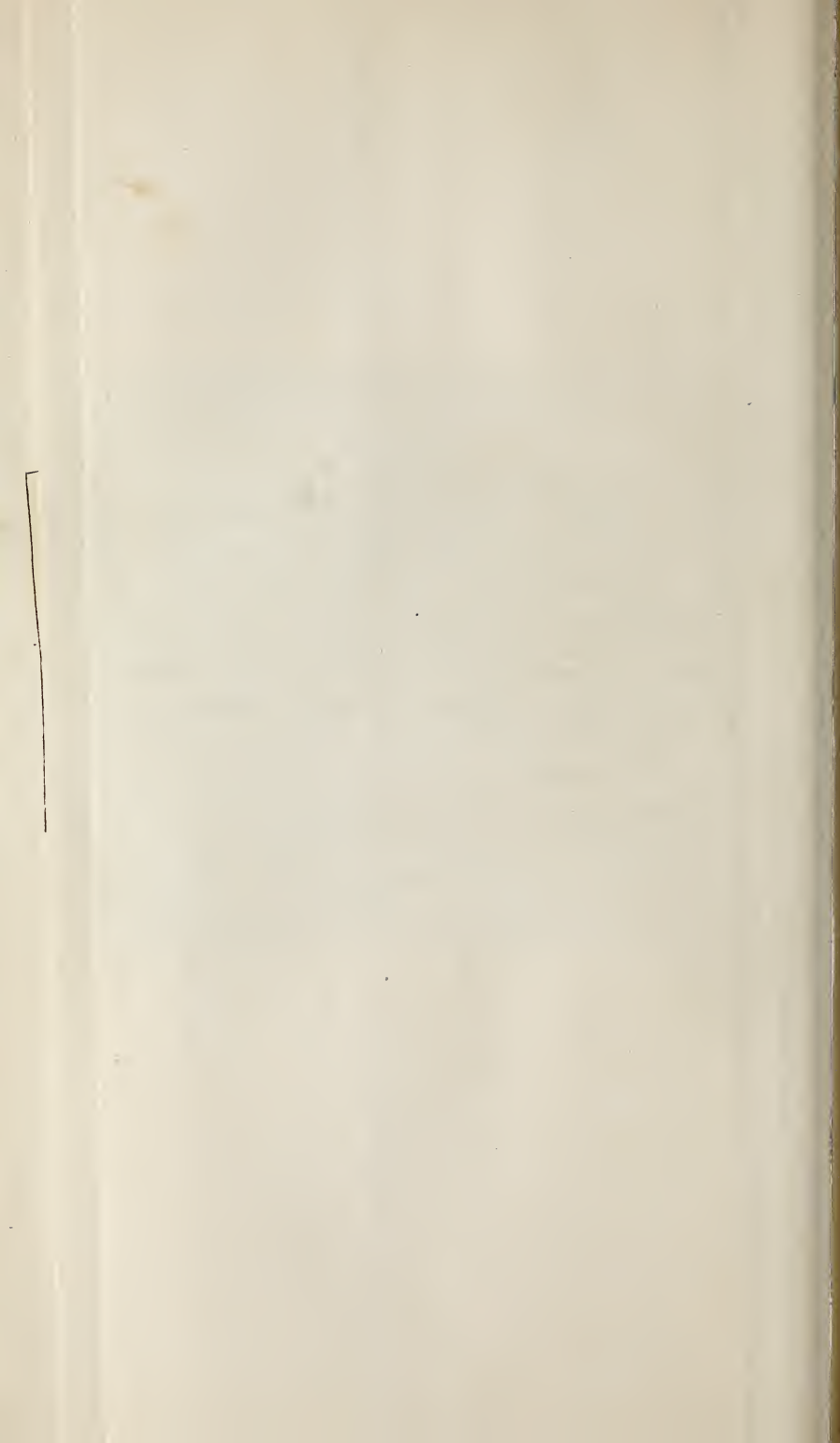
ƿher sprutelāð on ðysan ȝeppite ƿȝoðpine ȝe
habbanne 7 to sellanne on dæȝe 7 æfter dæȝe
feorepentis penega 7 tƿa pund 7 eahta ambra
hirdaȝe. nu is ȝyres to ȝe ƿittneſſe. by finge bi
auguſtine. 7 77 med. 7 ælſſige cild. 7 ælſſe ȝe.

L T W D O T

[illegible]

à mon très amy Johan Seignr de Cobourgo

Willm^t & Kirkham.



which it refers are probably the estate constituting, in after-times, the manor of Surrenden, here called, "thæs dænnes æt Swithrædingdænne." I subjoin a copy of it in modern English characters, with a literal translation.

"Her swutelath on thysan gewrite, y^t Godwine geánn Leofwine readan thæs dænnes æt Swithrædingdænne, on éce yrfe, to habbanne & to sellanne, on dæge & æfter dæge, tham the him leofost sy, æt thon sceatte the Leofsunu him geldan scolde, y^t is feowertig penega and twa pund, and eahta ambra cornes. Nu ánn Leofwine thæs dænnes thon the Bóctun to handa gegá æfter his dæge. Nu is thyse to gewittnesse, Lyfinge, bisceop; & Ælfmær, abbud; & se hired æt Cristes cyrcean; & se hired æt Sce Augustine; & Sired; & Ælfsige cild; & Æthelric, & manig other godman binnan byrig & butan."

The line of capitals cut through has been

✠ CYROGRAPHUM,

one half of the letters remaining on this portion of the charter, the other half on the counterpart retained by the other party, to attest identity. The charter is endorsed:—

"Goduine vendidit Leofuuino swithredigdene—anglice—"

¹ "Here by this writ it appeareth, that Godwine granted to Leofwine the Red, the pasture² at Swithrædingden, in perpetual inheritance, to have or to give, during life or after life, to whom he best pleased,³ at the same rent as Leófsunu was to have paid him, that is, forty pence and two pounds, and eight ambers of corn. Now Leófwine grants this pasture to him unto whom Bóctún⁴ may go, after his day. Now the witnesses to this are, Lyfing the Bishop, and Ælfmær the Abbot, and the brother-

¹ For this translation, and most of the annotations on it, I am indebted to Mr. Kemble.

² *i. e.* Land fit for the pasture of swine, that being the strict legal meaning of "dæn," when neuter, which this clearly is, from the genitive "dænnes."

³ Literally, "to him who might be chosen by him," "sy" being the subjunctive of the verb "to be."

⁴ *i. e.* Boughton; Boughton Aluf.

hood at Christ Church, and the brotherhood at St. Augustine's, and Sired, and Ælfsige the Child,¹ and many a good man beside, both within town and without."

The "godmen" are especially the "boni et legales homines," the jury, whose presence implies that this instrument is the record of a solemn transaction before the boroughmoot, or even the shiremoot. Leófwine most likely lived at Bóctún, *i. e.* Boughton, and the result of the instrument would have been, to attach Surrenden pastures to that estate for the future, which could only be done by a formal act.

The other document, of which I have given a facsimile, is an autograph letter of William of Wykeham, addressed to Sir John de Cobham, the King's Ambassador to the Court of Rome (41 Ed. III.).² The date of the letter is evidently 1367. It is of exceeding interest, as tending to illustrate the assertion made by Froissart, that Edward III. obtained the Pope's grant of the Bishopric of Winchester to Wykeham, by remitting to the Duke of Bourbon a large portion of his ransom, as one of the prisoners of Poitiers, on condition of the Duke's using his influence with Urban for the appointment.

"En ce temps, regnoit en Angleterre un pretre qui s'appelloit messire Guillaume Wikans. Icelui messire Guillaume estoit si tres bien en la grace et amour du roi d'Angleterre, que par lui estoit tout fait, ni sans lui l'on ne faisoit rien. Quand icelui

¹ "Cild," or "Child," was a young noble's title.

² Sir John de Cobham, Lord Cobham, in June, 1367, was Ambassador from the King, on a special mission to the Court of Rome, as we find by an entry of letters of safe-conduct on the Patent Roll, 41 Ed. III., 1st pt. m. 14:—

"De salva gardia pro ambassatore Regis.—Rex universis, etc. etc. Sciatis, quod cum mittamus dilectum consanguineum et fidelem nostrum Johannem de Cobham ad Curiam Romanam in ambassiam nostram cum literis et aliis negociis nostris in dicta Curia prosequendis et fideliter, Deo annuente, expediendis, etc. etc.

"Tested at Westminster, 3rd June."

This enables us to fix the date of our letter as having been written in June, 1367.

office de chancellerie et le dit eveché furent vacans, tantôt le roi d'Angleterre, par l'information et prière du dit Wikans, escript au duc de Bourbon,¹ qu'il vouldist tant pour lamour de lui travailler, qu'il allât devers le saint pere le pape Urbain, pour impetrer pour son chapelain l'eveché de Wincestre, et il lui seroit courtois a sa prison. . . .

“ Si se partit le dit duc a son arroy, et exploita tant par ses journées qu'il vint a Avignon, où le pape Urbain pour le temps se tenoit. . . . Auquel saint pere le duc de Bourbon fit sa prière, a laquelle le pape descendit, et donna au dit duc l'eveché de Wincestre, pour en faire à sa volonté, et sil trouvoit tel le roi d'Angleterre qu'il lui fût courtois et aimable à sa composition pour sa delivrance, il vouloit bien que le dit Wikans eut le dit eveché. Sur ce retourna le duc de Bourbon en France, et puis en Angleterre, et traita de sa delivrance devers le roi et son conseil, aincois qu'il vouldût montrer ses bulles. Le roi, qui moult aimoit ce Wikans, fit tout ce qu'il vouldt, et fut le dit duc de Bourbon quitté de sa prison. Mais encore il paya vingt mille francs, et messire Guillaume Wikans demeura eveque de Wincestre et chancelier d'Angleterre.”²

This passage from Froissart at once explains the studiously mysterious terms of our letter, which, in return, supplies resistless evidence of the truth of the chronicler's assertion. I had intended entering more fully into the dissection of Wykeham's letter, but my friend Mr. Wykeham Martin having kindly promised to contribute an article on the subject, I leave it in his able hands to complete the elucidation.

L. B. L.

¹ He was at the time in France, on his parole, “ par grace que le Roi lui avoit faite, il retourné en France.”

² Vol. i. liv. i. chap. cclviii. f. 562.

AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM.

BY CHARLES WYKEHAM MARTIN, ESQ., M.P.

THE very curious Letter of which a facsimile is subjoined is an autograph of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, to John Lord Cobham. It has no date, but from its contents, coupled with other evidences, was written either in the last days of the year 1366, when Cobham was sent on a special mission to the Duke of Bourbon, or more probably in June, 1367, when he was sent on a subsequent mission to the Pope.

It is curious, not only from its antiquity, but also as confirming a portion of the narrative of Froissart with reference to the mode in which Edward III. overcame some of the difficulties attending the appointment of Wykeham to the bishopric of Winchester. These difficulties arose, not from any reluctance on the part of Pope Urban V. to the selection of Wykeham for the vacant See, but from the contest then going on between him and Edward III. with respect to Bulls of Provision. The See of Rome had been endeavouring, from the time of Henry III., to grasp the patronage of the higher ecclesiastical preferments, by issuing appointments to Sees not yet vacant, on pretence of a singular regard to the interests of those Sees, which, as was alleged, might suffer damage in the event of a vacancy; and the King was determined not to acquiesce in any such claim. Accordingly there was a struggle, not whether Wykeham should be Bishop of Winchester or not, but by

whose appointment he should assume the duties of the See. This is very clearly made out by Lowth, in his 'Life of Wykeham,' p. 45. The narrative of Froissart is there quoted. It is printed in the original French, at p. 64, *supra*, but, for the benefit of those of our readers who may not be familiar with the diction of Froissart, it may be as well to subjoin the following translation:—"Before this time a fortunate circumstance happened to Duke Louis de Bourbon, who was one of the hostages in England [for the King of France's ransom as prisoner at the Battle of Poitiers]. By favour of the King of England he had returned to France, and while he was at Paris with his brother-in-law King Charles, it chanced that the Bishop of Winchester, Chancellor of England, died. There was at that time a priest in England, of the name of William of Wykeham. This William was so high in the King's grace, that nothing was done in any respect whatever without his advice. When the chancellorship and bishopric thus became vacant, the King of England immediately wrote to the Duke of Bourbon, at the request and prayer of the said William, to beg of him, through the affection he had for him, to go to the Holy Father Urban, and prevail on him to grant the vacant bishopric of Winchester to his chaplain; and that, in return, he would be very courteous to him as to his ransom. When the Duke of Bourbon received the messengers with the letter of the King of England, he was much pleased, and explained to the King of France what the King of England and Sir William wanted him to do. The King advised him to go to the Pope. The Duke, therefore, with his attendants, immediately set out, and travelled until they came to Avignon, where Pope Urban resided, *for he had not as yet set out for Rome*. The Duke made his request to the Holy Father, who directly granted it, and gave to him the bishopric of Winchester to dispose

of as he should please. And, if he found the King of England courteous and liberal as to his ransom, he was very willing that Wykeham should have this bishopric. The Duke, upon this, returned to France, and afterwards to England, where he entered into a treaty with the King for his ransom, showing at the same time his Bull from the Pope. The King, who loved Wykeham very much, did whatever he desired. The Duke had his liberty on paying twenty thousand francs,¹ and Sir William Wykeham was made Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of England.”²

The latter portion of this narrative will receive still further elucidation from the following short extract from Lowth (p. 46), which shows more fully the issue of the rival pretensions of the Pope and the King:—“However, in the present case it seems to have been agreed that each party should in some measure allow the pretensions of the other. Accordingly the Pope’s Bull of July 14, 1367, before mentioned, in which he refers to the Bull of Provision, is nevertheless directed to William, Bishop elect of Winchester; and on the other hand, the King, in his Letters Patent of the 12th of October, 1367, by which he grants him the temporalities of the bishopric, acknowledges him Bishop of Winchester by the Pope’s provision, without mentioning his election. He was enthroned in the Cathedral church of Winchester, by William de Askeby, Archdeacon of Northampton, by commission from the Cardinal-Archdeacon of Canterbury’s Procurator-General, on the 9th of July, 1368, who acknowledges him Bishop of Winchester by election, confirmation, and consecration, without any mention at all of the Pope’s provision.”

This brief sketch of the transactions of which the letter from William of Wykeham to Lord Cobham

¹ This is not correct; the sum was forty thousand crowns, as will be seen afterwards.

² Johnes’s Froissart, iii. 385.

forms a part, will render more intelligible the letter itself, and the following document, collected from Rymer, will explain more clearly its actual purport and object. The letter is as follows :—

“Trescher sire, veulliez sauoir q̄ yce dymenge ie enuoiaiy p^r Cauai, le vallet Symond Bochel, q̄i vynt a moi a Shene, ou ie lui parlay de leschange dont vous sauez ; et yce Lundy il enuoit vn vallet deuers Parys, & lui ad charge qil y soit oue toute la haste qil purra per la dite cause. Et le dit Symond ou Barthū Spifanie son pierre enuoieront deuers leur compaignons queu part q̄ le pape sra de vous faire p^rstement paier la some dont estoit parlé entre nous ; issuit qil neu busoigne mie q̄ vous aillez ne enuoiez deuers Parys p^r celle cause, car seurument vous trouerez le dit paiemiunt deuant vous en les mains de ditz compaignons, quel lieu q̄ le pape sra troue.

“Trescher sire, Liu Seint esperit vous veulle garder en sanitee.

“Escr a Shene, en gnde haste, yce Lundy. Sur mon departir.

“WILL^M DE WIKEHAM.

“A mon t^sch amy, Johan Seign^r de Cobeham.”

“My very dear Lord, be pleased to understand that this Sunday (*i. e.* yesterday) I sent for Caval, the confidential messenger of Symond Bochel, who came to me at Shene, where I spoke to him about the exchange (*i. e.* remittance), of which you are aware. And this present Monday he is sending a confidential messenger to Paris, and has charged him to be there with all the haste he can for the said purpose. And the said Symond, or Bartholomew Spifanie, his father, will send to their partners, to cause the sum, which was spoken of between us, to be immediately paid to you, in whatever place the Pope may be. Also, that it is by no means necessary that you should go or send to Paris on this account, for you will certainly find the said payment before you in the hands of the said partners, whatever be the place where the Pope shall be found.

“My very dear Lord, may the Holy Spirit be pleased to keep you in health.

“Written at Shene, in great haste, this present Monday, at the moment of my departure.

“WILLIAM DE WIKEHAM.

“To my very dear friend, John Lord Cobham.”

The first impression on reading this letter is undoubtedly this, that Lord Cobham was to be the bearer of a present to the Pope; but this, on further investigation, does not appear to have been the case.

It has been already stated that the Duke of Bourbon was commissioned to go to the Pope for the purpose of using his influence with him in favour of Wykeham. Froissart also states that the Pope was residing at Avignon, "*for he had not as yet set out for Rome.*" It was in the year 1367 that Pope Urban V. actually commenced residing at Rome, having for some years lived at Avignon.

On the 14th of August, 1366, Pope Urban writes to Edward III., to solicit an extension of leave of absence for the Duke, and on December 20 of the same year a commission was issued to Lord Cobham to take fresh oaths and securities from the Duke, with this object. This he did "*ad Luppam*" (at the Louvre), near Paris, as appears by the notary's certificate, Monday, January 18, 1367. Here we find Lord Cobham in communication with the Duke; and amongst Rymer's documents, in 1367, we find the following acquittance from Edward III. to the Duke of Bourbon (Rymer, vol. vi. p. 581, 1367):—

"Acquietantia pro Duce de Burbon.

"Le Roi a nostre treschere cousin Loys, Duc de Burbon & Counte de Claremount, Saluz.

"Come par voz lettres ouvertes sealles de Vestre seal vous nous soiez tenuz & obligez en Quarante milles escuz (dont les deux valent un Noble de nostre monoie d'Engleterre) a paier as certains lieu et Termes, sicome en vos ditz lettres est plus largement compris :

"Nous confessons en pure verite que nous avons receuz & countee de vous Dys milles escutz tieulx come dessus, *par les mains de Kavall Paff, attourne Simond Bochel, Marchantz de Luk*, en deduction & rebat & partie de paiement de la somme de Quarante mill escutz devant ditz :

“Dont nous vous quitons, delivrons et deschargeons, et vos Heirs a touz jours ; mais

“La dite obligacion et touz voz autres obligacions et covenances a nous faites, quant as autres choses, demurantz en leur effec, force & vertue.

“Don par tesmoignance de nostre grant seal a nostre Palays de Westm le vj jour de Decembre.”

It will at once be seen that this money was actually paid to the King by the very person, *Kaval or Caval, the vallet or attourne of Simond Bochel*, with whom William of Wykeham describes himself to have been in communication on the subject of “leschange dont vous savez,” to Lord Cobham. But it appears that the remainder of the ransom was paid through a wholly different channel. In the sixth volume of Rymer, p. 616, is a safe-conduct for Hugh de Digome, *chivaler du dit Duc* (Bourbon), for the purpose of bringing the remainder. This is dated March 31, 1369. It therefore seems to be a fair deduction from all these facts, that either the whole or a part of the first instalment of ten thousand crowns, towards the Duke's ransom, was furnished by Wykeham. This conjecture is far more natural and probable than the other. When Edward expressed his willingness to sacrifice a portion of the ransom, nothing would be more likely than that Wykeham, who was after all the person to reap most of the benefit, should also make a proportionate sacrifice. And whilst it exactly fits in with all the known facts, it puts an end to the painful supposition that a simoniacal tampering was going on with the Pope himself, through the agency of one of the most gallant and distinguished noblemen of the day.

In conclusion, the penmanship and general style of the facsimile which accompanies these remarks may fairly be appealed to as decidedly overthrowing the calumny which some writers have endeavoured to heap

on the great Bishop of Winchester, namely, that he was an illiterate person, and that this was the reason why Edward hesitated to appoint him Bishop of Winchester. This is a point which in a great measure addresses itself to the eye, and therefore is not a subject for reasoning. But the general tone of the letter is so easy, though addressed, whilst he was yet only an arch-deacon, to a person of great eminence, that it is quite as satisfactory as the caligraphy, and both the one and the other may well have weight in disproof of this accusation with every unprejudiced person.

CHARLES WYKEHAM MARTIN.

HACKINGTON, OR ST. STEPHEN'S, CANTERBURY.
COLLAR OF SS.

BY EDWARD FOSS, F.S.A.

AMONG the numerous spots in the eastern division of the county that will supply interesting topics to the archæologist, there are few that revive so many historical reminiscences as the parish of Hackington, or St. Stephen's, closely contiguous to the city of Canterbury. It is in the archdeaconry of that province, which has been presided over by so many eminent ecclesiastics; one of the most celebrated of whom, Thomas Becket, was loath to part with it, even when he became archbishop, and another, Petrus Rogerius, only vacated it when he was elected Pope, under the name of Gregory XI. The rectory belongs to the archdeacon, who has also the patronage of the vicarage; and in the village his residence was established for the three centuries that preceded the Reformation. One of the last residents there was Archdeacon William Warham, and there his kinsman, Archbishop Warham, an early thorn in Wolsey's path, breathed his last.

The families also that have been settled in this village,—the Bellamonts, the Ropers (memorable for their connection with Sir Thomas More), the Manwoods, the Colepepers, and the Haleses, all names renowned in the annals of the kingdom,—the ancient church in which they worshiped, and the monuments under which they sleep that adorn it,—will yield an ample harvest for

local investigation, and afford materials for many a future paper in our Transactions.

But the subject that happened to interest me on a late visit to its church was not the antiquity of its structure, nor the lineage of those who were interred in it, but the collar of SS, encircling the bust of Sir Roger Manwood, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, that ornaments the monument erected by himself in the south cross.



SIR ROGER MANWOOD.

It recalled to my mind several other examples which our county exhibits, viz. the monuments of Joan of Navarre, Queen of Henry IV., in Canterbury Cathedral; of Nicholas Manston (1441), in the church of St. Lawrence, in the Isle of Thanet; of an unnamed person, supposed to be one of the Septvans family, in the Molland chancel of Ash Church; and of another in the church of Teynham; on all which the effigies are decorated with the collar of SS. Being thus naturally induced to inquire into its origin and its use, the result of my investigation may not be unacceptable to the Society, and at all events may lead to some more satisfactory elucidation.

The collar of SS has been a common puzzle with antiquaries. While all have agreed that it is a mark of distinction given to privileged persons, they have differed on almost every other question connected with it. First, whether its form is the representation of a letter or of something else;—next, as to its signification, if a

letter;—thirdly, as to the family which first introduced it, and the persons originally entitled to wear it;—and lastly, as to the cause of its being ultimately confined to a few individuals, and who they were. On each of these I propose to offer a few remarks, though on some of them perhaps I shall not be able to arrive at any certain conclusion.

First, as to the form of the emblem that constitutes the collar. The name by which it has been commonly distinguished, sufficiently proves that it is generally understood to represent a series of the letter S. But there are some who think it merely a chain, and that it received the name from the links being formed in the shape of the letter, placed sometimes obliquely, and sometimes laid flat on their sides;¹ while others consider it “the ensign of equestrian nobility;” the true source of its nomenclature being “from the S-shaped lever upon the bit of the bridle of the war steed.”²

The form of the oldest examples, however, is inconsistent with either of these suppositions. Every observer must be satisfied that in them no chain or mechanical contrivance was intended; but that, whatever might be its signification, it is nothing else than a series of the letter. These SS are never united in any of the early collars of which representations remain, but are placed separate and apart from each other, at larger or smaller intervals, upon a band of some stiff substance of a dark colour.

The second inquiry, grounded on the admission that the figure is intended for the letter S, has been what that letter was meant to signify. This has given rise to various speculations, in the following account of which, as well as in many of the subsequent observations, I have availed myself of the information given by that learned antiquary, Mr. John Gough Nichols, who, in

¹ ‘Notes and Queries,’ 1st S. ii. 248, 330.

² *Ibid.*, p. 194.

several able papers in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' and also in the interesting pages of 'Notes and Queries,' has treated the subject in a manner which causes great regret at his non-performance of a promise he long ago made, of an extended work on the whole question.

The letters SS are stated by Nicholas Harpsfield, in his 'Ecclesiastical History' (1622), to be the initials of St. Simplicius, a just and pious Roman senator, who suffered martyrdom under Diocletian late in the third century. But this far-fetched theory, being founded on the presumption that the use of the collar was confined to sacred or judicial personages, is deprived of all its weight by the fact that the distinction was principally worn in the earliest times by persons totally unconnected with either religion or law.

Another theorist makes the letter the initial of the Countess of Salisbury, thus connecting it with the Order of the Garter; a third says that it means "Soissons," and was given by Henry V. in honour of St. Crespin and St. Crespinian, the martyrs of that place, on whose anniversary the battle of Agincourt was fought. But the former event occurred some years before, and the latter some years after, the use of the collar was introduced.

"Signum," in its simple meaning of a badge of honour, is another interpretation: and Mr. Willement, in his 'Royal Heraldry' (1812), refers it to "Soverayne," the motto of Henry IV. Mr. John Gough Nichols's answer to this is quite conclusive,—that it is not likely that Richard II. would have worn it (as he is stated to have done) had the letter borne that signification.

We have been told also that the letters mean the "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus," of the Salisbury Liturgy and Ritual:¹ but we have no other instance of the devices of livery collars in England partaking of religious allusion.

¹ 'Notes and Queries,' First Series, vol. ii. p. 280.

None of these interpretations seem to me to be clothed with sufficient probability to satisfy the inquirer: but there are two others, which cannot so easily be rejected.

One of them is that of Mr. Beltz, who makes the letter the initial of "Souvenez," part of the motto "Souvenez-vous de Moy."

The other is the suggestion of Mr. J. G. Nichols, who thinks that it means "Senechallus," or steward; an office which John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, inherited in right of his wife, the daughter of Henry of Lancaster.

To clear the way for the consideration of either of these, it will be better, in the first instance, to show that the letter S was the device of the Duke of Lancaster, and that it was used during the reign of Richard II. Both these facts are made apparent by an inventory "of the jewels, etc., belonging to King Edward III., King Richard II., Queen Anne, the Duchess of York, the Duke of Gloucester, and Sir John Golafre," which were delivered up by the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer to John Eluet, Clerk, the receiver of the King's chamber, by virtue of a Privy Seal, dated on October 6th, 1399, within a week after the usurpation of Henry IV.¹ Among these are the following:—

"Item, viii letters of S for a collar, each of xv pearls."²

"Item, a pair of gilt silver basins, one standing on a foot, with letters of S of the livery of Mons. de Lancaster, and the cover with a coronet above graven with letter of S around, and the arms of Mons. de Lancaster within."³

There is no evidence that collars were introduced in England anterior to the reign of Richard II., nor that they were used by the family of Lancaster before the time of John of Gaunt. "The arms of Mons. de Lan-

¹ Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer, vol. iii. p. 313.

² *Ibid.*, p. 321.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

caster," in the last of the above items, must refer to him, and not to his son Henry, then king, because the latter had been in exile ever since his father's death.

Allowing then, as these extracts seem to prove, that the letter S was of the livery of the Duke of Lancaster, and looking at the practice of the time, it seems at first sight more probable that an emblem or badge of honour, adopted by any individual, would be expressive of some sentiment or connected with some armorial bearing, rather than the mere designation of an office.

Thus, in the same Inventory, we find the collar of the King of France, with the emblem of the broom-cod (*cosses de geneste*);¹ the collar of Richard's first queen, Anne, with branches of rosemary;² the livery of the Duke of York, bearing links, or fetterlocks, and falcons;³ and two collars, unnamed of whom, embroidered with the word "plesance."⁴ On several other articles in this Inventory we find initials inscribed. There are twenty-six "quiller d'argent," marked with the letter P;⁵ also two little silver cruets, gilt and enamelled at the top, with the letters A and U;⁶ also two letters of C, each with three "troches," each "troche" with four pearls, and in each letter one little sapphire;⁷ but all these are probably the initials of names. Two instances also occur in the same document of the use of the letter S, without any apparent connection with the House of Lancaster. These are—

"Item, un salet d'argent ennoier en manere d'un faucon coronez et entour le cole lettres de S steant sur un terage plein de lyons, cerfs, et autres diverses bestes."⁸

"Item, l'autre seynture d'or, le tissu noir garnis ove roses blankes et ove R et S, et petitiz sonatz."⁹

That King Richard on some occasions wore the collar

¹ Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer, vol. iii. p. 357.

² *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 347.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 338.

of SS, there is no doubt. The Earl of Arundel charges him with it, and the king thus explains the reason:—"That soon after the coming of his uncle, when he came from Spain last into England, he took the collar from his uncle's neck and put it on his own, vowing to wear it and use it in sign of good love of his whole heart between them also, as he did of his other uncles."¹ This affectionate assumption of the collar seems to me to be altogether inconsistent with the idea that the letter S was the initial of Senechallus; because the king would be thus assuming the livery, not so much of a kinsman as of an officer of his own household; this would have much the appearance of a degradation, an objection which would not apply if the letters had any emblematic or sentimental meaning. I am not aware, either, that any other example can be produced, of a collar or other badge of honour bearing the mere initial of the name of an office.

We now come to Mr. Beltz's conjecture, that the letter S means "Souvenez," as part of the motto "Souvenez-vous de moi." Mr. Nichols rejects this interpretation, because he says that the motto is only heard of on one occasion. This seems to me to be scarcely a sufficient ground for rejection; and I am inclined to believe Mr. Beltz to be right with respect to the *word* intended to be signified, whether he be correct or not in considering it the abbreviation of the motto. The simple word is sufficiently expressive, and one very likely, in those times of romance and sentiment, to be adopted as a motto by itself; and if so, the letter designating it would not be an unfit substitute for it. There is positive proof that King Henry used both the word and the initial on a collar. In the Issue-Roll of the eighth year of his reign, a goldsmith was paid the large sum of £385. 6s. 8d. "for a collar of gold, worked with

¹ Rot. Parl. iii. 313.

this motto, 'Soveigneur,' and the letter S, garnished with a great variety of valuable jewels."¹

If Henry IV. bore such a decoration while he was Earl of Derby, he must have done so as the cognizance of his father; because in the list of King Richard's treasures it is distinctly stated to be of the livery of Mons. de Lancaster, a title which the Earl had not attained till after he was in exile; unless we imagine that the composers of that Inventory substituted the word Lancaster for Derby, a supposition in which we cannot indulge, inasmuch as if they made any complimentary alteration in the catalogue, it may be presumed that they would have described it as the livery of the "now King."

Admitting, then, that the collar of SS was of the livery of the Lancastrian family both before and after Henry IV. became king, the next inquiry is, what persons were entitled to wear it. The hypothesis supported by several writers of eminence, that it belonged to the dignity and degree of a knight, seems to be contradicted by two facts. The first of these is, that of the numerous brasses which remain of those who held that degree, the great majority are undistinguished by the collar. The second is, that in the 'Acte for Reformacyon of Excesse in Appayrale,' 24 Henry VIII. c. 13, it is enacted, "that no man oneless he be a Knyght . . . weare any color of Gold named a color of S." From this, though it may indicate that knights wore the collar at that time, it may be clearly inferred that it had been previously assumed by other persons; and as this is the first hint of any limitation of its use, nearly a century and a half after its introduction, it leaves us uninstructed as to those who were privileged to wear it in the intervening period.

It appears by one of the charges against the Arch-

¹ Devon's Issues of Exchequer, p. 305.

bishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, and Chief Justice Tresilian, in 1387, that Richard II. was the first of our kings who gave badges to those who were connected with him.¹ These badges, whether a collar or in any other form, thus became a party symbol; and the violent accession of the Lancastrian family to the throne would naturally lead to the assumption of their livery by all those who were, or who wished to be reputed, friends to their cause. That these formed so numerous a class as to become a nuisance, it is evident from an Ordinance in Parliament, made so early as the second year of Henry's reign, altogether abolishing all liveries and signs, except that peers and bannerets were allowed to use the livery of the King, "de la Coler," at all times; while all other *Knights and Esquires* were prohibited from doing so, except in the King's presence:² thus showing that the use of the collar was not at the earliest period confined to knights; but besides dukes and other noblemen, their use was recognized by esquires also. And we may presume that those who were thus allowed to wear the king's livery were only those, whatever their rank, who were of the retinue or household of the king.

Thus, in the few monumental effigies that remain of this period which are distinguished by this ornament, there are scarcely any in which we are not able to trace the connection of the wearer with the family or the court of the House of Lancaster.

1. The first is in the reign of Richard II. The collar appears upon the brass of Sir Thomas Burton, in Little Castreton church, in Rutlandshire, dated in 1382,³ seventeen years before the usurpation of Henry IV. This knight, we find, received letters of protection on accompanying the Duke of Lancaster to France in 1369, when

¹ State Trials, vol. i. p. 106.

² Rot. Parl. vol. iii. p. 477.

³ Boutell's Mon. Brasses and Slabs, p. 55.

Edward III. re-asserted his claim to that kingdom.¹ Thus forming one of the retinue of the duke, his assumption of the collar may be at once accounted for.

2. The next is on the monument of John Gower, in the church of St. Saviour's, Southwark.² The poet died in 1402, 4 Henry IV. It is more than doubtful whether he was a knight; and the only ground that I can suggest for his being represented with the collar of SS is, that he was in some manner, perhaps as the court poet, attached to the household of the king. Of his transferred devotion to Henry IV. we have sufficient evidence in the revision of his '*Confessio Amantis*;' from which he excluded all that he had previously said in praise of his patron, Richard II.

3. Of Sir Thomas Massingberde, who died in 1405, and on whose monument in Gunby church, in Lincolnshire, both he and his lady are represented with the collar,³ I have discovered too little to enable me to state the cause of their wearing it.

4. In Baginton Church, Warwickshire, there is a similar instance of a knight and his lady being so ornamented. The monument is that of Sir William and Lady Bagot, and the date 1407. Boutell says that the knight was the first who received this collar from the king.⁴ Be that as it may, the Patent Rolls contain sufficient to account for both assuming King Henry's livery from gratitude for the restoration of the lands which he had forfeited as an adherent to Richard II.⁵

5. Sir John Drayton, whose monument, dated in 1411, is in Dorchester church, Oxfordshire,⁶ was not only Keeper of the Royal Swans under Richard II., but was also Serjeant of the King's Pavilions and Tents to Henry IV. Thomas Drayton, who was made Assayer of the

¹ New Fœdera, vol. iii. p. 870.

² Boutell, p. 134, *note*.

³ Boutell's Mon. Brasses of England.

⁴ Boutell's Brasses and Slabs, p. 56.

⁵ Cal. Rot. Pat. pp. 236, 243.

⁶ Boutell, Brasses and Slabs, p. 134.

Mint in the year of Sir John's death,¹ was probably his son.

6. In 1412 the collar is represented on the brass of Sir Thomas Swynborne, in Little Horkeley church, Essex,² who held the office of Mayor of Bordeaux, and of the King's Lieutenant in those parts.³

7. We now come to the reign of Henry V., and we find one in memory of Sir Thomas Peryent and his lady, in Digswell church, Hertfordshire, dated in 1415. Both of them wear the collar; the knight being Esquire-at-Arms to Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., and Master of the Horse to Queen Joanna of Navarre; and the lady, no doubt, being also of the royal retinue.⁴

8. In the reign of Henry VI. we have a monument in Trotton church, Sussex, of Thomas Lord Camoys, who died in 1424; and of his wife, both of whom are distinguished by the collar. She was the widow of Harry Hotspur, and his lordship was a Knight of the Garter, and commanded the left wing of the army at the battle of Agincourt.⁵

9. On the brass of John Leventhorpe, Esquire, in the church of Sawbridgeworth in Hertfordshire, the collar is also to be found.⁶ He died in 1433, was a servant of the Crown, and had been one of the executors of the will of Henry IV.⁷

10. Thomas, Lord Hungerford, whose monument is in Salisbury Cathedral, with the collar, died in 1459. His father was Lord Treasurer of England, and he himself served the king in the French wars.

11. The silver collars of the king's livery bequeathed by the will of John Baret, of Bury, may be presumed, although he did not die till after the accession of Edward IV., to be of the livery of Henry VI.; as he is not

¹ Cal. Rot. Pat. pp. 196, 259. Devon's Issue Roll, p. 285.

² Boutell, p. 55.

³ Cal. Rot. Pat. p. 255.

⁴ Boutell, p. 61.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Devon's Issue Roll, p. 334.

only represented on his tomb, which he had erected during Henry's reign, with the collar of SS, but the chantry, also built by him, is profusely ornamented with the same collar, enclosing his monogram, J. B. He probably received the privilege of wearing it during Henry's visit to St. Edmundsbury, in 1433.¹

In all the instances where I have found a trace of the position of the parties, they evidently held some office connected with the Crown, or were otherwise attached to the reigning family, and were not mere knights. The weight of evidence clearly preponderates in favour of the hypothesis, that those only were *entitled* to wear this collar who were in some way connected with the royal household or service.

On the accession of Edward IV., the Yorkist collar of roses and suns was of course adopted, and to its clasp the white lion of the House of Marche was commonly attached.



THE COUNTESS OF ESSEX.

But the collar of SS was revived by Henry VII.; and the frequent insurrections in that king's reign would have the natural effect of inducing his partisans to distinguish themselves by his emblem. The consequence was, that by degrees it was assumed by unprivileged persons; so that when eventually the two houses ceased

¹ Bury Wills (Camden Soc.), pp. 15-44, 233.

to be antagonists, or rather when no claimants remained in the York interest, it was found expedient to subject the wearers to some regulation; and consequently the statute of Henry VIII., limiting its use, was enacted.

The portrait of Sir Thomas More, painted by Holbein shortly before the passing of that statute, represents him with the collar of SS joined together at the ends by two portcullises with a rose pendent. It is the only known instance of a Lord Chancellor being distinguished by that ornament. Whatever therefore may have been the previous practice, of which we have no knowledge, either from monumental brass, or picture, or description, it may be presumed that from that time the very limitation in the statute would prevent persons holding so high a dignity from adopting a collar which even knights were permitted to wear. The practice even with knights soon went out of fashion, till at last the use of the collar of SS became gradually confined to certain persons in official positions, who alone were privileged to wear it, either in gold or silver, according to their grade in the royal household.

That the privilege did not extend to the puisne judges of the Courts at Westminster, though previously to the reign of Elizabeth they, almost without an exception, received the honour of knighthood, is very certain. Among all the monumental or pictorial representations of these worthies, either between the accession of Henry IV. and Edward IV., or, with a single doubtful exception, subsequently to the latter period, up to the present time, there is no instance in which the collar of SS is introduced. The exception referred to is the monument of Richard Harper in Swarkestone church, in Derbyshire. He was a judge of the Common Pleas in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and is represented in full legal costume, with the addition of the collar of SS, which, without some other explanation, we must attri-

bute to the fancy of the sculptor or the mistake of the family.¹

With regard to the chiefs of the three Courts, it is uncertain how soon they were distinguished by this collar.

Of all the chiefs during the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry V., the only monument that I know of is that of Chief Justice William Gascoigne, at Harewood in Yorkshire, on which he is represented in official robes, but without the collar.

In the reign of Henry VI., we have the monuments of Sir William Hankford, in the church of Monkleigh, in Devonshire (1422); Sir John Juyn, in Redclyffe church, Bristol (1440); Sir William Cheyne, in St. Benet's church in Paul's Wharf, London (1442); Sir John Fortescue, at Ebrington, in Gloucestershire (qu. 147-?); Sir John Cottesmore, at Brightwell, in Oxfordshire (1439);—all Chief Justices, in none of which is the effigy ornamented with the collar. But in the Wyke chapel of Yatton church, Somersetshire, is an uninscribed monument of a judge, the figure exhibiting a collar of SS over the judicial dress. This is assigned to Chief Justice Sir Richard Newton, who died about 1449, and there are many facts in his history which support this conjecture, which some may think receives a sufficient answer by the exceptional introduction of the collar not yet assumed by those who held the same office.

In the five following reigns, from Edward IV. to Henry VIII., there is no trace of the collar on the judicial dress, although several monumental effigies of chief justices remain, as those of Chief Justices Sir Thomas Billing (1481), in Wappenham church, Northamptonshire; Sir Robert Brudenell (1531), in the church of Dean, in the same county; Sir John Fitz-James (1542), in Bruton church, Somersetshire; etc.

In the reign of Edward VI., however, there is an un-

¹ Fairholt's 'Costumes of England,' p. 278.

doubted effigy on the monument of Sir Richard Lyster, Lord Chief Justice, in the church of St. Michael's, Southampton, on the robes of which the collar of SS appears. He died in 1554, nearly a century after that attributed to Sir Richard Newton, and more than a century and a half after the introduction of the collar.

Though no record exists showing the reason of its being limited to the Chiefs of the Courts, and though several other monuments in this and the following reign do not appear to be adorned with it, there can be little doubt that the practice was then adopted, for from the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, in which we have the first pictorial representations of the judges, that emblem invariably ornaments the bodies of the Chiefs. In Popham's Reports, p. 43, it is expressly stated, that, on the call of serjeants in Easter, 36 Elizabeth, 1594, "the Chief Justices and Chief Baron met in Middle Temple Hall in, etc., and with their collars of SS,"—seemingly a recent introduction, as it had never been mentioned before on a similar occasion. The identical collar that Sir Edward Coke wore is stated to have descended to the present time, and has been left as an office-loom to the Judge presiding in the Court of Common Pleas.¹

The form and appendages of the collar varied in the different periods.



SIR THOMAS BURTON.

¹ Ex inf. of W. Durrant Cooper, Esq., F.S.A., to whom I want words to express my gratitude for the innumerable facts with which, by his ready kindness and industrious research, he has furnished me in the work I have just published.

In 1382, the first example (Sir Thomas Burton), it was a small collar fitting closely to the neck, with the letter S placed at equal distances on a stiff band of a dark colour, the ends of which bent outwardly, and were united by a chain.¹

After the accession of Henry IV., the collar was united sometimes by a sort of buckle, and sometimes by an enriched trefoil-shaped clasp.



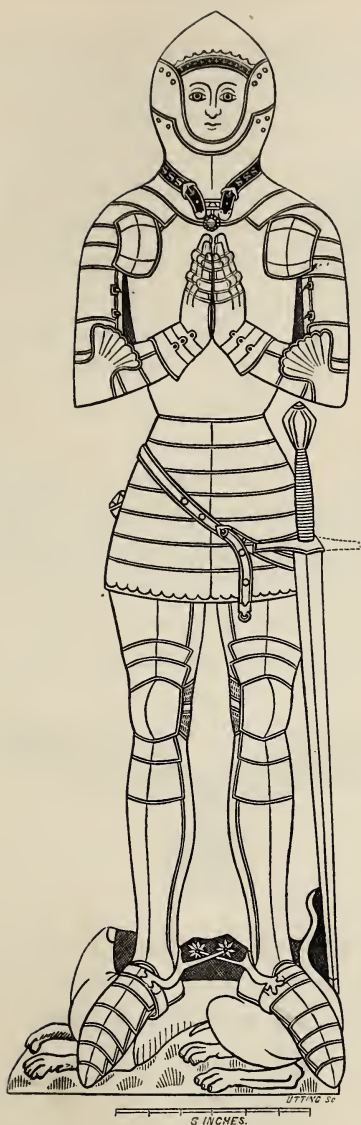
SIR WILLIAM BAGOT.



SIR JOHN DRAYTON.

The pendent ornament varied in the succeeding reigns; an apparently jewelled ring being sometimes attached to the collar. Two of the examples in this county have this addition: that in the church of St. Lawrence, on the brass of Nicholas Manston, Esq., who died in 1444; and that in Teynham church, on a figure supposed to be of John Frogenhall, Esq., who died in the same year, of which the following is a sketch.

¹ In Boutell's *Mon. Brasses and Slabs*, p. 55, this collar has a single S pendent; but the figure given above is taken from a rubbing of the brass itself, by Mr. Hussey, whose correctness may be relied on.



JOHN FROGENHALL, ESQ.

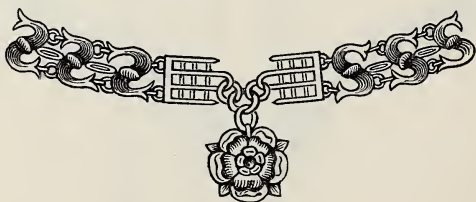
Parsons, in his 'Kent Monuments,' describes a brass in Teynham Church, exactly corresponding with the one here given, (excepting that he does not notice the SS collar,) with the following inscription :—"Hic jacet Johannes Frogenhall, armiger, qui obiit undecimo die mensis Novembris, anno Domini millesimo ccccxliiij, cujus animæ propicietur Deus. Amen." No other brass, in the slightest degree answering to Parsons's description, exists in Teynham Church.

In the reign of Henry VII., the collar was increased in size, hanging lower down the neck, with the letters placed more closely and bordered by a fillet of gold, not divided at the end, but having that king's Beaufort badge, a portcullis pendent, with a rose attached to it.



SIR JOHN CHENEY, 1509,
SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

Up to this time, the letters were invariably placed on a band, but they next appear to be set, as the jewellers call it, transparently; each letter being fastened by little chains or studs to its neighbour. The size also was greatly increased, so as to hang over the shoulders, and the ends were united by two portcullises, not pendent, with a rose pendent to them; an example of this is seen in Holbein's portrait of Sir Thomas More.

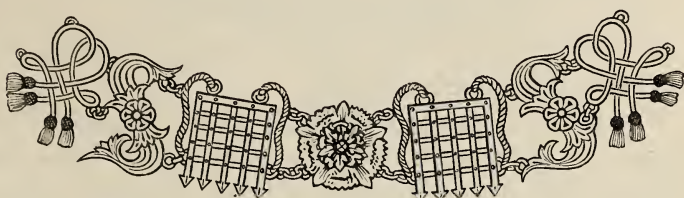


But in the portrait of Sir James Dyer, Chief Justice in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the rose, instead of being pendent, is placed between the portcullises.



The next and last change occurred in the same reign, and was made by introducing a Garter knot between

each of the letters S, a form which has continued from that time to the present, with the exception of the eleven years during which the monarchy was in abeyance. The collar as now worn is very gorgeous and large in dimensions. That of Chief Justice Lord Denman consists of twenty-eight of the letters and twenty-seven of the knots, besides the two portcullises and the rose; the diameter of the latter being about an inch and three-quarters, and the rest of the chain in proportion.



Of the collars worn by the Chiefs of the three Courts at Westminster, only one has any interest on the score of antiquity; those of the Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench and of the Chief Baron of the Exchequer having, each of them, been renewed twice in the present century.

The King's Bench collar worn by Lord Ellenborough could be traced back through his predecessors to Sir Matthew Hale, the renowned Chief Justice under Charles II. in 1671; and had been transmitted to each of them on a payment settled by custom of £100. Lord Ellenborough, on his retirement, choosing to retain it, Sir Charles Abbot (afterwards Lord Tenterden) was obliged to provide himself with a new one. This descended to Lord Denman on the usual payment; but as, on that nobleman's resignation, his successor did not take it, his Lordship transferred it to the Corporation of Derby, whose mayors will thus in future be decorated with the livery collar of the earl who took his title from that town, and who, as Henry IV., first attached it as a mark of honour to the members of the royal household.

The descent of the old Exchequer collar could not be traced with any certainty, beyond a century and a half before Sir Richard Richards became Chief Baron in 1817. On his death, his widow preferred keeping it to transmitting it in the customary manner, and it is now in the possession of the family. The new collar which Chief Baron Alexander in 1824 was obliged to substitute for it, after passing through two of his successors in office, was in its turn retained by the son of Chief Baron Lord Abinger; and Sir Frederick Pollock, who now presides in the Court, was consequently put to the expense of providing a new one, the weight of which is no less than four pounds of gold.

The collar of the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas boasts a higher antiquity, being that said to have been worn by that eminent judge Sir Edward Coke. Chamberlain, it is true, in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated the 23rd of November, 1616, about a week after Coke's discharge from the Bench, relates that Sir Edward "gave a good answer to the new Chief Justice, who sending to him to buy his collar of SS, he said he would not part with it, but leave it unto his posterity, that they might one day know that they had a Chief Justice to their ancestor."¹ But as there is no such collar among the treasures of Holkham, it may be presumed either that the *on-dit* related by the entertaining letter-writer was unfounded, or that if the Chief Justice, in his anger at his dismissal, actually made the speech as reported, he on reflection altered his mind, and consented to part with the collar. For the first hundred years afterwards, however, there is no other evidence than tradition; the earliest date that can be positively traced is 1714, when Lord Trevor received it from his predecessor. From that time to the present, there is clear proof of the succession. On Chief Justice Tindal's death in 1846, his representatives transferred it to his successor, Sir Tho-

¹ Johnson's *Life of Coke*, vol. i. p. 341.

mas Wilde (afterwards Lord Truro), without requiring any money payment, on the understanding that it should remain for ever as an office-loom for the future Chief Justices of the Common Pleas.

Cromwell's Chief Justice, John Glynne, is represented with a collar of a similar description, formed of letters S, alternated with roses and having a large jewel pendent.



The only persons besides the Chiefs of the three Law Courts, who are entitled to wear the collar, are the Serjeant-Trumpeter, and all the officers of the Herald's College, except the Pursuivants. That worn by Garter King-at-Arms is gilt, and those worn by the other heralds and the Serjeant-Trumpeter are silver. They are not nearly so rich in form as those of the law chiefs, and the letters are not divided, as in the latter, by the Garter knot. For the badge of the rose and portcullis also are substituted the rose, thistle, and shamrock, united by foliage; and Garter's is distinguished from the others not only by its metal, but by a portcullis on each shoulder.

I may add, that at one time esquires were created by the investiture of a silver collar of SS.

With the fact that on the effigy of Sir Roger Manwood, we have the earliest example of a Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer being decorated with this collar, the history of my visit to the church of Hackington, or St. Stephen's, may be concluded.

ON CÆSAR'S LANDING-PLACE IN BRITAIN.

BY R. C. HUSSEY, ESQ.

NOTWITHSTANDING all that has been written with a view to determine the place of Cæsar's landing in Britain, the question is still open to further inquiry. The subject may be thought trite, but it must always possess a degree of interest for the people of Kent; and as the views here propounded differ from those of preceding writers, it is hoped that this additional treatise will be found excusable.

As the purpose of the following observations is to endeavour to ascertain the course of Cæsar's operations on the coast of Britain, it is unnecessary to refer to the transactions in which he was engaged preparatory to leaving Gaul, as they are not connected with the occurrences to be here investigated.¹

Before attempting to trace Cæsar's movements, it is requisite to call attention to the part of the coast on which he can be supposed to have landed, viz. between Beachy Head and Dover; beyond Dover it is needless to look, for although, until recently, the general assumption has been that he debarked at Deal, it seems now to be clearly ascertained that at the time of his arrival, the current of the tide must have carried him from Dover in the opposite direction.—In the absence of any positive

¹ For information on these and various other circumstances relating to Cæsar's operations, not here alluded to, the reader is referred to a most valuable paper by the Astronomer Royal, in the 'Archæologia,' vol. xxiv., in which also full particulars of the tides, etc., will be found.

evidence of change, it would be natural to suppose that during the nineteen centuries which have passed since Cæsar's time, the action of the sea must have caused alterations in the coast, by wearing away the cliffs and headlands, and increasing the deposits on the low parts of the shore ; but in this respect we are not entirely dependent on conjecture, as various changes are distinctly recorded, though history does not reach, by some centuries, to the age of Cæsar. The cliffs at Dover, and from thence to within a few miles of Folkestone, are of chalk, and therefore liable to be easily acted upon by the sea, and the state of the works next the edge of the cliff at Dover Castle shows that this hill formerly extended beyond its present limits. In the hollow occupied by the town of Dover, the land has undoubtedly advanced, and it was still advancing, by an accumulation of shingle, until the harbour of refuge, now in progress, was begun. At the end of the chalk next Folkestone is Eastwear Bay, where the cliffs become much lower, and the soil changes to a mixture of stone and clay ; here the land periodically yields to the action of the sea. Immediately adjacent to this bay is the town of Folkestone, of which a considerable portion has been washed away. At Hythe the shore has advanced to some extent, and from hence the low tract of Romney Marsh, formed entirely by a deposit from the sea, reaches (under different names) to Rye, and to the hills below Pett, near Winchelsea ; within this district important changes have arisen, but the history of them unfortunately is not perfectly clear ; it seems certain, however, that in the time of the Romans, an estuary ran from Hythe towards Appledore, close under the high ground on which the church of Limpne stands, which possibly was an outlet of the river Rother, formerly called the Limene ; here the Portus Lemanis was situated, and considerable remains of Roman buildings are still to be seen on the

slope of the hill under Limpne church. A second estuary extended across the marsh, from Romney to Appledore, apparently the main outlet of the Rother; and a third appears to have passed southward from Appledore, under the high land at Playden, and to have reached the sea at Rye, or between that town and Winchelsea. In this marshy tract very material changes have been effected by storms, but these three estuaries seem all to have existed at the same period. The two first mentioned have long been entirely choked, and the soil drained and made valuable land; the third is now represented by the sluggish stream of the Rother, which falls into the sea at Rye. New Romney owes its foundation to the sea having left the old town. At Dungeness the land continues to increase, from the accumulation of beach, to the extent of some feet annually. The original town of Winchelsea stood on a low island, or peninsula (for the accounts are not perfectly clear on this point), towards the S.E. from the present town, about where the Pier-Head is marked on the map, or somewhat further seaward; this was in great part destroyed by a violent storm in 1287, immediately after which the new town was founded, and the ancient site was speedily washed away. Both before and after the destruction of the first town, the harbour of Winchelsea was one of the principal ports, if not the chief port, of assembly for the Royal Navy; it must therefore, throughout this period, have been both safe and commodious, and the position of the castle (formerly called Camber Castle, or the Castle at the Camber¹) seems to prove that until a comparatively late date the sea penetrated far within the present line of coast, and the whole breadth of ground between the Pier-Head and the castle, and for some distance further inland, towards Rye, is composed of beach so recently accumulated as to be, for the most part, still

¹ Camber, a harbour.

bare of vegetation. At Hastings, the high ground has certainly receded, as, before the Castle Hill was cut back to make room for Pelham Crescent, part of the wall of the castle projected beyond the face of the cliff, and a large mass which had fallen off lay below at the foot of the hill; but the cliffs between Winchelsea and Pevensey are of too compact a structure to be easily acted upon by the sea, and they are probably now but little reduced from the appearance they presented at the time of Cæsar's invasion. Beyond Hastings, towards Beachy Head, I am unable to point out any particular alterations; there is some evidence of changes, in mediæval times, near Pevensey, either on the shore or about the mouths of the streams, but I have no precise knowledge of the history of this locality. Throughout the line of coast here referred to, from Dover to Beachy Head, the beach is now drifted by the tide along the shore with considerable force, and is accumulating in various places, but this kind of deposit seems to be of comparatively recent origin, for the older parts of the low lands consist (so far as my knowledge of them extends) of mud and sand; this shows that the current is now stronger, at least along the low parts of the shore, than it formerly was,—a change probably caused by the wearing away of the cliffs and headlands.

We may now give attention to Cæsar's operations. His first expedition appears to have been in some degree experimental, as it was undertaken late in the season, with a small force of two legions, unprovided with the usual quantity of baggage; and as the transporting of this body of troops seems to have required all the ships then at his command, he cannot be supposed to have contemplated at that time effecting a permanent conquest; and he says that if he could proceed so far only as to ascertain the character of the island and its inhabitants, the gaining of this information would be

highly useful. From the Gauls nothing was to be learnt of the country or people of Britain, for even the traders, to whom he made especial application, could tell neither the size of the island, nor by what tribes it was occupied, nor the customs of the inhabitants, or their usages in warfare, nor what ports were fit to receive a fleet.¹ In this state of ignorance, Cæsar thought it prudent, before embarking on his enterprise, to send an officer, C. Volusenus, in a galley to collect what information he could, with directions to return quickly, which he did, after an absence of five days, without having ventured to land on the British coast.² Hereupon Cæsar completed his preparations, and sailing from Gaul with a favourable wind, about midnight, he reached the coast of Britain with the first of his ships at ten o'clock the following morning; here he saw the hills on all sides covered with enemies, and finding the place he had approached to be altogether unsuited for a hostile landing, he remained at anchor until the rest of his fleet were assembled, and then, having in the meanwhile called his officers together and given his orders, at three in the afternoon, with wind and tide in his favour, sailed a distance of eight (or seven) miles to a flat open part of the shore, where, after a fierce contest, he succeeded in effecting a landing.³ This is a general outline of Cæsar's narrative, but

¹ "Si tempus anni ad bellum gerendum deficeret, tamen magno sibi usui fore arbitrabatur, si modo insulam adisset, genus hominum perspexisset, loca, portus, aditus cognovisset; quæ omnia fere Gallis erant incognita. . . . Evocatis ad se undique mercatoribus, neque quanta esset insulæ magnitudo, neque quæ aut quantæ nationes incolerent, neque quem usum belli haberent, aut quibus institutis uterentur, neque qui essent ad majorum navium multitudinem idonei portus, reperire poterat."—*De Bell. Gall.*, lib. iv. c. 18.

² "Volusenus, perspectis regionibus, quantum ei facultatis dari potuit, qui navi egredi ac se barbaris committere non auderet, quinto die ad Cæsarem revertitur; quæque ibi perspexisset renuntiat."—*Ibid.*, lib. iv. c. 19.

³ "Nactus idoneam ad navigandum tempestatem, tertia fere vigilia solvit. . . . Ipse hora diei circiter quarta cum primis navibus Britanniam attigit, atque ibi in omnibus collibus expositas hostium copias armatas conspexit. Cujus loci hæc erat natura: adeo montibus angustis mare conti-

it is necessary for our present inquiry to make a close examination of each step in his progress.

The first thing to be noticed is, that Cæsar twice mentions his desire to learn what ports on the coast of Britain were capable of receiving his fleet; it may therefore be concluded that his wish was to land in, or close to, a haven where his ships might be made secure. The way in which he speaks of the place where he first arrived is also remarkable, and to this I wish to call particular attention, because I venture to think that Cæsar's words have been misunderstood. The general assumption has been that they are not to be interpreted with perfect strictness; it may however be presumed that he was well able to give an accurate account of whatever he intended to describe, and it is difficult to believe that he can have described a peculiar conformation of the coast which he did not find: in this respect, therefore, I must avow myself to be, though a Briton, Cæsar's advocate, and contend for a literal interpretation of his words. His description is very concise, but it has every appearance of exactness, and is perfectly clear: "Cujus loci hæc erat natura: adeo montibus angustis mare continebatur, uti ex locis superioribus in littus telum adjici posset." The introductory words give emphasis to what follows, and the whole passage seems to imply, that he was struck, if not surprised, by the peculiarities of the place. His subsequent proceedings appear to show that he was embarrassed by the obstacles

nebatur, uti ex locis superioribus in littus telum adjici posset. Hunc ad egrediendum nequaquam idoneum arbitratus locum, dum reliquæ naves eo convenirent, ad horam nonam in anchoris expectavit. Interim legatis tribusque militum convocatis, et quæ ex Voluseno cognovisset, et quæ fieri vellet, ostendit, monuitque, (ut rei militaris ratio, maxime ut maritimæ res postularent, ut quæ celerem atque instabilem motum haberent,) ad nutum et ad tempus omnes res ab iis administrarentur. His dimissis, et ventum et æstum uno tempore nactus secundum, dato signo et sublatis anchoris, circiter millia passuum viij (al. vij) ab eo loco progressus, aperto ac plano littore naves constituit."—*De Bell. Gall.*, lib. iv. c. 21.

unexpectedly encountered. The delay of five hours of inactivity might be accounted for by a reluctance to begin any hostile movement before his whole force had arrived, but the calling together of his officers during this interval, and explaining to them the intelligence Volusenus had collected, pointing out what he was intending to do, and exhorting them to act with promptness and discretion, indicates a change in his plan of operations, for the carrying out of which fresh orders were necessary; and as the fleet did not quit its anchorage till within about four hours of sunset,¹ with a new landing place to be found, a landing to be forced, and the army to be secured for the night, Cæsar had good reason for urging his officers to exert themselves. A course of seven or eight miles along the coast, in the direction of the tide, brought the fleet to a flat open part of the shore, where a landing was gained with great difficulty.²

It is now necessary to revert to the coast of Britain, and endeavour to discover the locality of the transactions just referred to. At Dover, there may have been an inlet at the date of Cæsar's arrival, sufficient to be called a haven, but it must have been small, and the adjacent ground does not agree with Cæsar's description.³ A distance of seven or eight miles, in the direction of the tide from Dover, reaches to Folkestone, or a little further, where an invading force would have found very serious, though probably not insuperable difficul-

¹ According to Halley's computation, Cæsar arrived on the coast of Britain at the end of August.

² The effect of the fleet remaining so long stationary, must have been to draw the Britons towards the neighbouring coast; and it is possible Cæsar may have prolonged his stay to the utmost, in the hope of enticing them away from the parts to which he was about to direct his course.

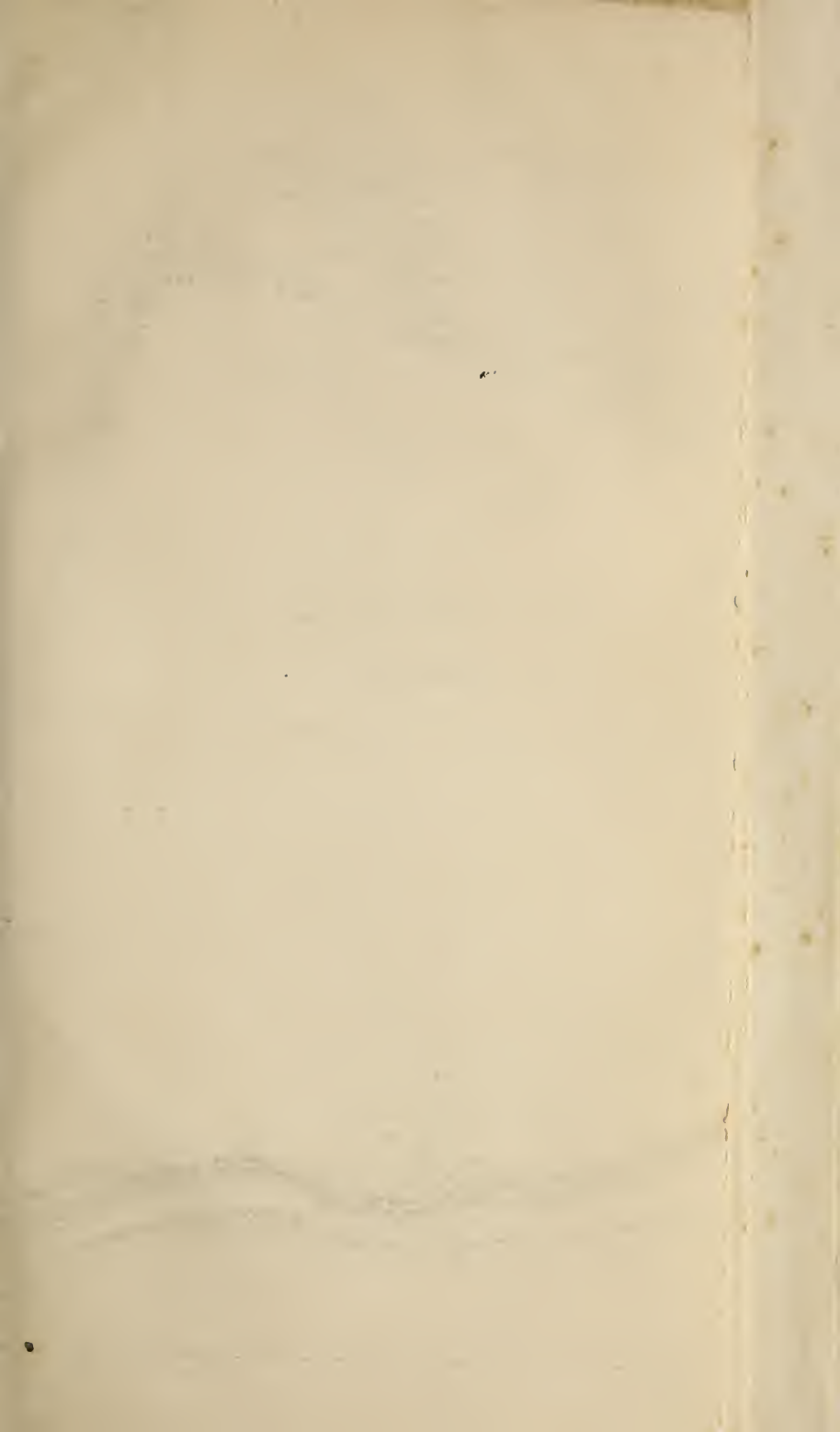
³ The site of Dover Castle has much the appearance of having been a British fortress; if it really was so, and Cæsar had attempted to land immediately below, he could hardly have failed to mention its existence.

ties. At Hythe,¹ or rather at Limpne, a reasonably good harbour probably existed, but the ground abutting upon it does not in any degree possess, or appear to have possessed, the requisite peculiarities, and a movement from hence would have brought the Roman fleet to the shore of Romney Marsh, where it is impossible to suppose that Cæsar would have disembarked; neither is it credible that he could, in the first instance, have steered to Romney, or any other spot within the limits of the marsh. At Pevensey, there may have been a harbour, but it is difficult to imagine that any of the surrounding ground can ever have suited with Cæsar's description, and a distance of seven or eight miles from hence would reach the cliffs towards Beachy Head. Neither of these localities therefore entirely fulfils the conditions requisite to establish the probability of its having been the place of Cæsar's arrival; but there is one other spot to examine, viz. Winchelsea; here, as already noticed, there was a spacious harbour at the earliest date which is recorded, and I think there is the strongest ground for assuming it to have existed at the time of the Roman invasion; there is also very great probability of the deposit on which the old town of Winchelsea stood having been formed at that time, but of this no proof is to be found. I have not met with any evidence of the position of the harbour, but it can hardly have been anywhere else than between the site of the old town and the hills towards Pett. The whole of what is now Pett level, as far inland as to the cliff on which modern Winchelsea stands, has unquestionably been occupied by the sea, and I have not any doubt that at the date of Cæsar's

¹ There once was a small harbour at Hythe, apparently a narrow creek formed by a bar of sand or mud, a short distance off the firm shore; it seems to have been in great part choked by an accumulation of the same kind of deposit, and subsequently to have been obliterated by the drift of beach; or perhaps the bar was washed away before the beach began to collect.

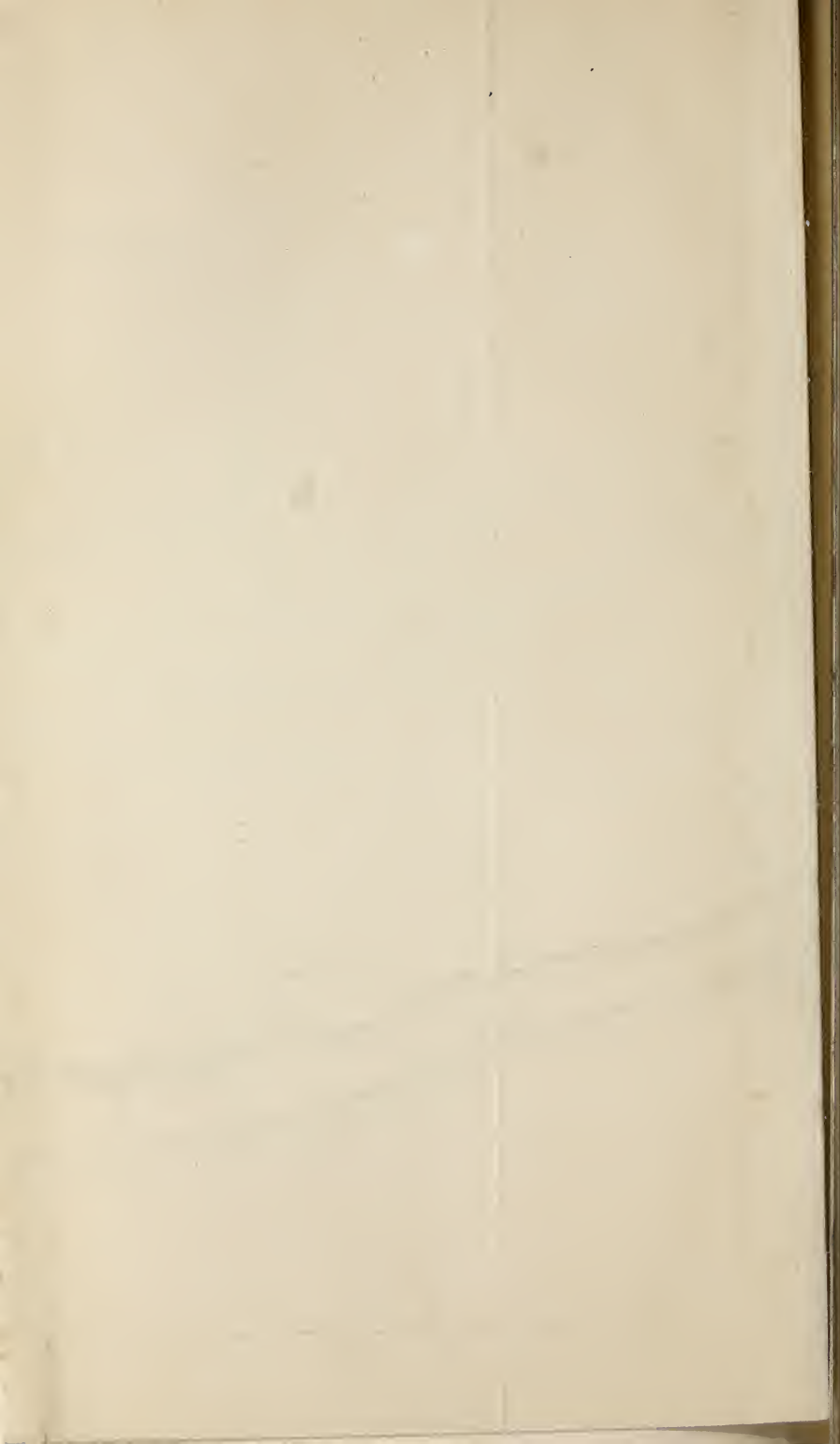
invasion, and for centuries later, the greater part, if not the whole, of this tract was under water, with the shore on the western side following the blue line on the accompanying map. The high ground next Pett slopes rapidly down to this line of shore, and ends in a succession of small bays and promontories; at no part, however, of the whole distance from Winchelsea to the point marked A, excepting in the valley from Pannel Bridge, and a length of perhaps two hundred yards at the back of the bay C, does the declivity reach the water-level, as the skirt of the hills is worn away so as to form a step or low cliff, perhaps forty feet high, or rather more, at the end of the promontories, but in general of much less elevation.¹ The peculiarities of this spot are very remarkable, and as they bear strongly on our present inquiry, it is necessary to describe them with some minuteness. Beginning at the end of the military canal, marked A, where the cliffs which face the sea under Fairlight end rather suddenly, and calculating distances along the bank of the canal, there is, first, an opening, forming a bay, about 450 yards wide; then follows a cliff, something more than 450 yards long, part of which may be as much as forty or fifty feet high, but the greater portion is much less,—this, when viewed from the south-east, has the appearance of a promontory, but the ground at the back slopes very rapidly down to the level of the water, and it is actually an island; after this comes another opening or bay, about 600 yards, or rather more, in width (still measuring on the bank of the canal), to the point of the promontory B; to which succeeds a third bay and an oblique line of coast, reaching about 700 yards further, to the point D. Now, if we look back to the time when Pett level was covered by the sea, all the characteristics of this locality appear consistent with Cæsar's narrative;—every proba-

¹ The cliff under the town of Winchelsea is higher.



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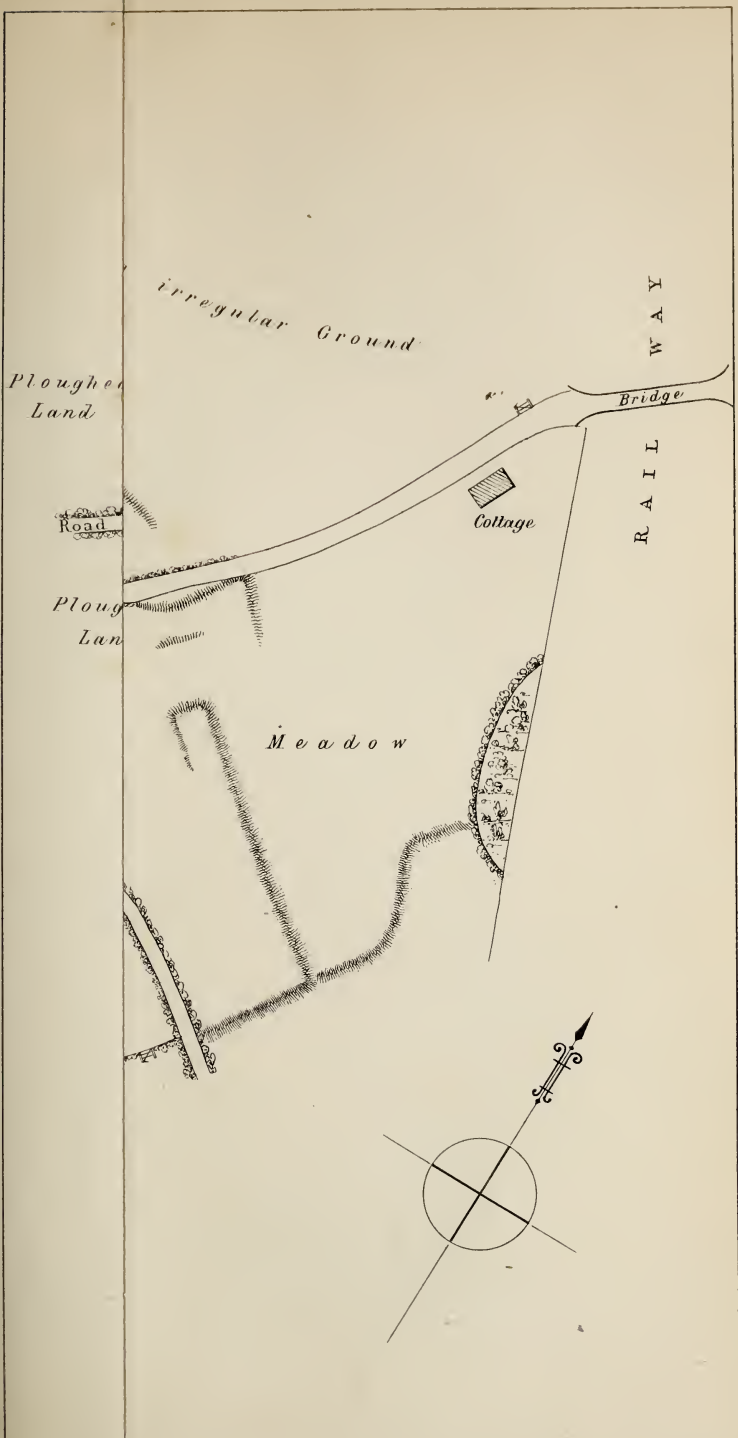


bility is in favour of the existence of a harbour; and in the irregularities of the shore are seen the *angusti montes* which turned away the Roman forces; not high cliffs conspicuous from a distance, but low mounts, slight eminences, high enough to stop the advance of invaders, and low enough to allow the Britons collected on them to throw their missiles with effect; and between these the water was so held in, that had Cæsar attempted to force a landing, his troops would inevitably have been broken into separate detachments, and, in the then high state of the tide, some of his ships might have floated under the cliffs, within reach of his enemies: so that the spot not only agrees most exactly with Cæsar's description, but also thoroughly justifies the opinion he gives, "Hunc ad egrediendum nequaquam idoneum arbitratus locum." It may perhaps be urged that Volusenus would have discovered such peculiarities as these, and have warned Cæsar against attempting a descent on this part of the coast; but he is not likely to have ventured with his single ship into an unknown harbour in a hostile country, and, judging from the imperfect idea which I myself gained on seeing the place from the Pier-Head, a distant view would not have enabled him to detect the true character of the ground.

Following the coast in the direction of the tide, from Winchelsea towards Beachy Head, the first opening in the high cliffs in any degree practicable for Cæsar's purpose is between St. Leonard's and Bulverhithe, exactly at the right distance from Pett level to agree with his history.¹ Here two small valleys unite on the shore, having between them a peninsular hill connected at the

¹ Dion Cassius says Cæsar sailed round a promontory, and this the line of coast would form to any one proceeding from Pett level to Bulverhithe. As Cæsar does not describe the character of the coast, Dion Cassius must have derived his information from some other source, and he may therefore be regarded as an independent authority.

back by a narrow isthmus with the high ground of the inland country. The width of the interval existing at the time of the Roman invasion between Bulverhithe and the end of the cliffs at St. Leonard's is doubtful, and it must have varied according to the depth of the curve which the shore may have followed along the skirt of the hills next St. Leonard's; it is also uncertain whether at that time the water reached the peninsular hill just mentioned; it is clear, however, that the end of this hill has formerly been washed by the sea, and if it was so at the period referred to, the gap in the cliffs must have been divided into two spaces, one (next Bulverhithe) about five furlongs wide at high tide, and the other of uncertain width,—perhaps a mile, perhaps half a mile. But the breadth of these openings at high tide is of little importance to our investigation, as Cæsar reached the place of his debarkation about, or a little before, the time of low tide, when, if this part of the coast was then like what it now is, there must have been a firm open shore of unbounded length, and nearly a furlong in width, between the cliffs and the edge of the water, affording ample space for a hostile landing, while the narrowness of the intervals through which the Britons could descend to the shore would have been favourable to Cæsar's small army. No peculiarities in any degree at variance with Cæsar's narrative appear to be discoverable in this locality, nor any cogent reason to exist why his first landing in Britain may not have been effected at this spot: the "*apertum ac planum littus*" is not to be understood as a low *line of coast*, but merely a *flat shore* exposed to the sea, in contradistinction from a haven, in which he had designed to land. No occurrences are recorded after the Roman forces were established on land that will help our present inquiry, but it may be noticed that Cæsar describes his galleys to have been drawn ashore, and the transports to have



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SKETCH OF GROUND BETWEEN BULVERHITHE & ST LEONARDS

Ploughed Land

Meadow

Farm House

Meadow

Highest Spot

Sleep irregular Ground

RAILWAY

Bridge

Collage

Meadow

Pond

Pond

Meadow

Hedge formerly on this Bank

Ploughed Land

RAILWAY

Bridge

Collage

Meadow

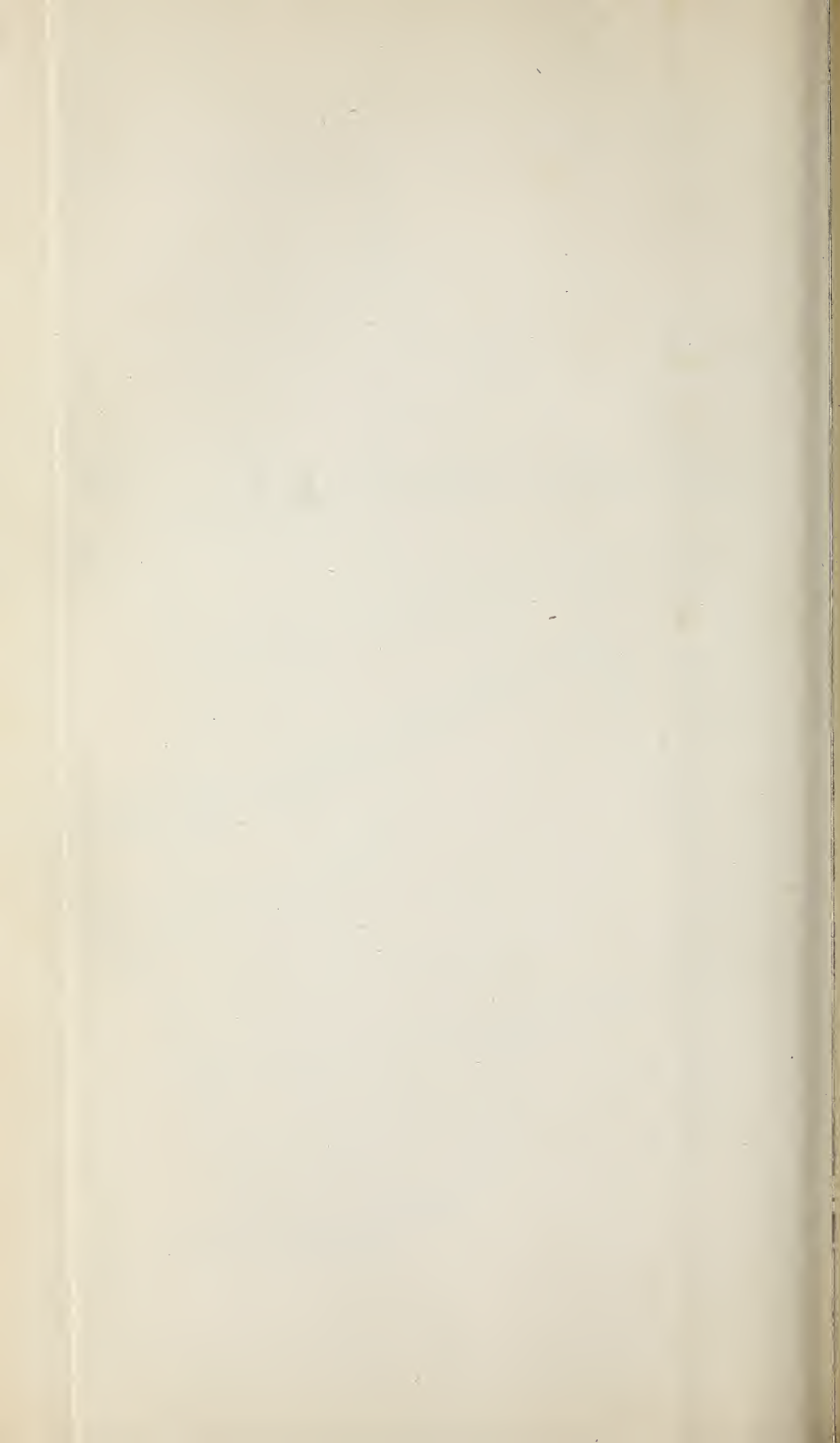
Pond

Pond

Meadow

Hedge formerly on this Bank

Ploughed Land



remained at anchor in the open sea, implying that no creek or haven was available for their security; and in this respect the spot under consideration suits with the narrative.

The year following the events which, thus far, we have been examining, Cæsar embarked much earlier in the season, on his second expedition, with a force of five legions, and on reaching the coast of Britain, about mid-day, found no enemy in sight; he therefore landed without opposition, and having selected a spot for his camp, marched in search of the British army, leaving his ships at anchor.¹ On this occasion he steered from Gaul to the part of the island which he had ascertained in the preceding year to be best fitted for a landing; he does not say distinctly that he reached, or intended to reach, the very spot where he arrived in his first expedition, but his words may well be interpreted to signify that he did so, and as Dion Cassius asserts plainly that the second landing was at the same place as the first, there is no good reason to doubt that such was the fact. Cæsar again speaks of the open shore, and describes it to have been soft, a characteristic sufficiently accordant with the ground between St. Leonard's and Bulverhithe.² In

¹ "Æstus commutationem secutus, remis contendit, ut eam partem insulæ caperet, qua optimum esse egressum superiore æstate cognoverat. . . . Accessum est ad Britanniam omnibus navibus meridiano fere tempore; neque in eo loco hostis est visus."—*De Bell. Gall.*, lib. v. c. 7.

² "Eo minus veritus navibus, quod in littore molli atque aperto deligatas ad anchoram relinquebat."—*Ibid.*, lib. v. c. 8. It may reasonably be inferred from the word *molli*, that Cæsar did not find the deposit of beach which now exists on this part of the coast, and both an examination of the shore and history tend alike to show that it is a very recent accumulation; that which lies on the shore, as well as that which covers the surface of the ground for a short distance inland, appears to have been thrown up in very modern times. The soil of the valleys is clay, lying over sea-sand, in, or immediately under which many trees are found, some of considerable size, at depths varying from a few feet to fourteen feet below the surface. I have not been able to learn that any traces of early occupation have been met with in these valleys. In Cæsar's time the soft shore may here have extended further towards the sea than it does at present.

both expeditions the Roman fleet suffered very severely from storms on the coast of Britain, but after the second of these misfortunes the ships were, with much labour, drawn on shore, and protected by fortifications united with the camp,—an additional proof that there was no harbour to receive them.

The peninsular hill before spoken of, the form of which may be seen on the map, deserves particular notice: its length is rather over three-quarters of a mile, and the breadth at the widest part nearly half a mile; the isthmus at the north-east end, which joined it to the neighbouring hills, is cut through by a railway, and its precise width cannot now be ascertained, but it probably did not much exceed a hundred yards; the valleys on both sides contain streams, and, when undrained, must have given considerable protection to the flanks, so that the entire hill, in its original state, possessed very much the character of a natural fortress, and was peculiarly suited for military occupation. Here, it may be supposed, Cæsar would have found a favourable site for his camp, with one end touching the high ground inland, and the other reaching to the shore, in immediate connection with the shipping.¹ Very little of the entrenchments thrown up by the Romans can now be supposed to remain; the Britons would have destroyed whatever they thought formidable, and in later ages the tides and floods in the valleys, and the plough on the hills, will have obliterated the traces which the Britons left. The greater part of the ground here referred to is ploughed land, on which I can find no indications of entrenchments; but at the north-east end of the hill are several meadows, and in these there are various irregularities and banks which deserve to be very carefully examined by those who are skilled in such investigations. It does

¹ The military advantages of this hill may have influenced Cæsar in determining the course of his second expedition.

not seem easy to account for them, except by supposing that they are the remains of military works; but I leave it to others, better acquainted with such subjects than myself, to determine their origin and object; and in the hope of assisting further research, I have added a rough sketch of the ground.¹

How far the foregoing ideas are consistent with Cæsar's narrative, and the faint aids which are discoverable to guide us in tracing the course of his proceedings, it is for my readers to decide, but to myself they appear to lead to this conclusion,—that on his first expedition Cæsar brought his fleet to the foot of the hills descending to what is now Pett level, with the intention of landing there, but finding himself unexpectedly baulked by the peculiarities of the place, and compelled to alter his plan of operations, he resolved to make a dash at some other part of the coast, and while waiting for his ships to assemble, he called his officers together, explained what he intended to do, and admonished them to be prepared to act with energy, and then (at three o'clock in the afternoon, about four hours before sunset) moved off towards Beachy Head, and turned his attack to the very first opening in the cliffs, in any degree practicable, which he came to; and, that on his second expedition Cæsar landed at the same place, and established his camp on the hill referred to between Bulverhithe and St. Leonard's.

¹ The best time to examine this ground is during a bright day in winter, when the sun is low enough to show clearly the irregularities of the surface. A good view of some of the lines of embankment is obtained from the rise in the road, a little beyond (towards the north-east) the bridge over the railway. The accompanying plan is not to be regarded as anything more than a very rough sketch: an approximate scale may be applied to it, of about nine-eighths of an inch to a hundred yards.

A few observations may be added relative to Cæsar's movements after his landing. I agree in opinion with the Astronomer Royal, that the battle fought immediately after Cæsar's second arrival was on the banks of the river Rother, and in all probability at Robertsbridge, for although the road across the valley at Bodiam most likely existed at the time, and would undoubtedly have been guarded by the Britons, Cæsar must be supposed to have made his attack at the narrowest part of the valley, which is at Robertsbridge.¹ Mr. Airy also expresses his conviction, in reference to the stronghold which Cæsar captured directly after this battle, that a large wood, called the Burg Wood, adjoining the hamlet of Hurst Green, once contained a British fortress. Upwards of twenty years ago I learned that indications of something of this kind existed; and they are to be found in the highest part of the wood, near the eastern extremity, as marked in the accompanying map; the principal object is a somewhat irregular oval excavation, rather more than a hundred yards long from east to west, and perhaps eighty yards wide from north to south; eastward of this, about a hundred yards outside the wood, is a hollow in the ground, very much like the commencement of a trench, and curved as if intended to surround the oval excavation, but the traces are not clear except at the eastern part. These works are too incomplete to be satisfactorily interpreted, except by those who are well accustomed to the investigation of ancient entrenchments, and I do not venture to express any opinion concerning them. The site is such as the Britons usually chose for their fortresses, but if this is a remnant of one of their settlements, it appears never to have been

¹ Cæsar marched twelve miles from his camp to the place of the battle; this is exactly the distance from the valley at Robertsbridge to the hill referred to between Bulverhithe and St. Leonard's; from Bodiam Bridge the distance would be about two miles further.

perfected.¹ There is another indication to be noticed in this locality. On the rise of the hill, to the south of the old road ascending from Echingham Church, there is a step in the ground winding round in a curve towards the new road by Haremare ; this is marked partly by a hedge and partly by a narrow belt of wood between the fields. As the natural effect of long-continued cultivation on sloping ground is to produce steps of this kind next the fences, there would be nothing noticeable in this circumstance, were it not that a continuation of the irregularity is to be traced in the wood on the opposite side of the old road.

Of the direction of Cæsar's advance into the country we have no evidence. The road through Lamberhurst and Tunbridge may be considered to be of British origin ; but the Britons never would have allowed him to pass the Medway without a sharp contest,—more especially as they had a camp overhanging the line of his approach within about a mile of the latter place,²—and if an important battle had been fought there, Cæsar could hardly have failed to make some allusion to the peculiarities of the ground. If he had accurate information of

¹ No tradition or name seems to be attached to this spot ; a cottager to whom I applied knew the circular excavation merely as a deserted *sand hole*, but it was originally assuredly not a sand pit ; and when seen from the south-west, with the wood cleared away, it certainly looks like the beginning of a fortress. The soil of this neighbourhood is too tenacious of wet to admit of the formation of dry moats, except in situations where the ends of the trenches can run out on the side of a hill ; the ground in the Burg Wood has a steep descent towards the north from the chief excavation, and in this respect is well suited for a British camp. Cæsar describes the entrances of the place which he stormed to have been defended with felled trees ; and his troops applied the *testudo* and also raised an *agger* in the attack. An assault on this spot must have been made from the south or east, and there is a mound projecting into the south side of the oval excavation, which an ardent imagination may claim to be the very work of Cæsar's soldiers.

² There are remains of a British camp at Castle Hill, close to the turnpike road opposite Summer Hill Park, rather more than a mile south-south-east of the town of Tunbridge.

the character of the country, he would probably have avoided Tunbridge, and have moved in the direction of Wadhurst and Frant; supposing this to have been his line of march, his second camp may have been near Broadwater Down, between Tunbridge Wells and Groombridge.

COWDEN AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

BY ROBERT WILLIS BLENCOWE, ESQ.

AMONG the many advantages attending the institution of a Society such as this which has been so auspiciously commenced in our county, one of the greatest is the occasion which it affords of bringing into notice districts and places of much interest, but which, being situated in distant and unfrequented parts of the county, are seldom visited, and are comparatively little known.

Such a district is, or perhaps it might more properly be said, was till very lately, that country which surrounds the village of Cowden, at the extreme western boundary of the county. If we take that place as the centre of a small circle with a radius of eight or ten miles, we are introduced to scenes and places, in the sister counties of Kent and Sussex, possessing great natural beauty, and which are full of interesting historical associations.

It is situated on the borders of a wild forest country, extending far into the county of Sussex. This forest belonged to John of Gaunt, and in old title-deeds is frequently called Lancaster Great Park. A curious record of this possession is still to be found there in the signs of the public-houses which are scattered through the district; the badges of that royal line, the Swan and the White Hart, having never been superseded by the most popular of English heroes, the Marquis of Granby, or by any other more modern signs.

The character of the country and the names of many of the parishes included within it, such as Hartfield,

Bucksted, Horsted, Maresfield, clearly indicate that it was devoted to the chase, that passion of our countrymen in all ages, whether indulged in by kings or nobles, with a total disregard in other days for the welfare and the rights of their fellow-men, or boldly followed by the daring outlaw and his band of bowmen, or, as is now the case, sometimes furtively and sometimes audaciously practised by the poacher and his gang.

The name of Cowden, like that of the old town of East Grinstead, a few miles off, implies a spot of green pasture, in the former case placed in a valley, and showing that it was applied to the support of animals far more useful to man than stags and deer; and it fully justifies its appellation. The village, which has in a remarkable degree that appearance of comfort and cleanliness which may be fairly claimed generally for the villages of Kent, though seated on rising ground, is surrounded with hills which overlook it, and the greenness of the meadows in which it stands is very striking. It would be difficult to find a lovelier view than that from the garden-walk of the parsonage, and impossible to meet with possessors of such enjoyments more anxious to share them with their friends and neighbours, than is happily the case with the kind and hospitable owners of it. Close behind the parsonage stands the church, with its lofty spire and tower,—if so it may be called, for it seems to be all spire seated upon a framework of timber. There are many steeples in Kent, and many more in the Weald of Sussex, formed of this material; but there are none, probably, where both the steeple and the base from which it springs are, as is the case at Cowden, covered with wood.¹

¹ In the churchyard there are the following simple and touching lines upon the tombstone of an infant:—

“She laid him in his little grave;

’T was hard to lay him there,

When spring was putting forth its flowers,

And everything was fair.”

Those who built these churches in the wild country where they lived and died, availed themselves of the best materials which they could get. The roads were wretchedly bad, and for many months in the year they were impassable by heavy loads of stones; so they hewed down their finest oaks which were near at hand, and cut out the choicest and hardest pieces, the heart of the wood, and with these they covered the framework of the edifice. These shingles, as they are called, have done their duty well; they have resisted the wear and tear of the elements, the expanding heat of summer, and contracting cold of winter, for centuries. Those who would wish to know how gigantic were the oaks of Kent and Sussex in olden time, would do well to mount the steps into the belfry; a more curious sight than the interior of that part of the building can scarcely be found anywhere; arches of timber of enormous size meet together at the top, which is like the keystone of some chapel, and these, which are as sound as when they were placed there, more than four hundred years ago, support the whole weight of the fabric above.

There are other features of interest, too, connected with this church. From Michaelmas to Ladytide the bell from the old steeple is tolled every morning at five, and every evening at eight o'clock, telling with iron tongue the hour; and we may well suppose that in this wild district, its sounds, heard far and wide, may have guided many a bewildered traveller towards a place of shelter.¹ Nor is this the only thing peculiar. By the side of the pulpit stands the framework of an hour-glass, with its broken glass within, that more striking symbol of the lapse of time than the modern timepiece, remind-

¹ The small sum of twenty shillings was charged annually upon an estate in the parish, about a hundred and fifty years ago, by a person of the name of Still, to be paid to the clerk or sexton for the performance of this duty; and if declined by them, there are always competitors for it.

ing the preacher when to close his sermon and dismiss his hearers, who, there is some reason to believe, were more patient¹ of a long discourse than is the case in the present day.

In no district in England do we meet with more of those picturesque old houses and cottages, with their whitewashed fronts set in their framework of dark-coloured squares of timber, with bold projecting gables, and large massive stacks of chimneys in the centre, to which they seem to cling for support. Nor can we fully understand how much such buildings add to the beauty of the scenery, till the eye falls upon some modern red brick house, with its slated roof, or upon that most unpicturesque of all buildings, a hop oast.

Probably no British remains are to be found, at least they have not been recognized, within our prescribed district, though the foot of the labourer may have often struck against the celt of flint, in which his unpractised eye has seen nothing more than a common stone.² But of the first invader of our land there is a fine monument in the remains of a Roman camp, at Lingfield Marsh, close at hand, which is in some places triply, in others doubly entrenched; the banks rising occasionally to the height of sixteen or eighteen feet from the bottom of the fosse, and enclosing an area of six-and-twenty acres.³ As yet no vestiges of Roman villas have been found, with their tessellated pavements, and elaborate baths and flues, such as have been brought to light by the deep

¹ "Sir J. Jekyl," says Lord Dartmouth in a note to Burnet's History, "told me that he was present at a sermon which Bishop Burnet preached at the Rolls Chapel, on the 5th November, and that when he had preached out the hour-glass, he took it up and held it in his hand, and then turned it up for another hour; upon which the audience, a very large one for the place, set up almost a shout for joy."—*Note to Burnet's History*, vol. ii. p. 439.

² Some fine specimens of these were lately found in a field near Reigate.

³ For a full description of this camp, see Mr. Beale Poste's account of it in the Transactions of the Archaeological Association.

searchings of the drainer at the foot of the South Downs, in Sussex; but there they probably are; for Kent was the most genial, most civilized part of Britain when the Roman held possession of our land, and well might the officer of the Prætorian Guards, however much he may have longed after the games of the Circus, and missed his walk or drive along the *Via Sacra*, have blessed his lucky stars that he was not doomed to waste away his life on the cold and savage hills of Northumberland.

Nor is this camp the only vestige of the Roman,—there is another very curious one, if it will be accepted as such by our readers. In the Weald of Kent, and more frequently in that of Sussex, it often happens that the traveller finds in the quiet valleys large sheets of water, in some cases rising almost to the dignity of lakes, which have been formed in other days by the damming up of one end of a valley through which some brook made its way; they are often beautiful features in the landscape, being frequently fringed with wood to the water's edge,—such a one there is, called Furnace Pond, close to Cowden, which covers an area of twenty-two acres. This is one of those numerous reservoirs of water, now the abode of those quiet fish, the carp and tench, which were formed to obtain sufficient water-power to work the mills at a time when this country, now one of the most silent districts in England, rang night and day, as Camden describes it, with the sound of hammers, filling the neighbourhood with continual noise. Iron-stone was at hand and there was abundance of wood for fuel, and there the forges blazed till the opening of fresh fields of coal in the northern parts of England, and the discovery of richer ores of iron there, blew out the furnaces of Kent and Sussex for ever.

The local names of woods and lanes are strongly imbued with this craft of other days. There is Hammerwood and Cinder Hill, Canse Iron, and the Forge Wood.

Such names as these are to be found in almost every Wealden parish, and many centuries before the time of which Camden speaks, the Roman was at work upon his forges and his furnaces here. Their pottery and the coins of Nero, Vespasian, and Diocletian have been found mingled with the scoriæ of their old ironworks. A lane, now called Spode Lane, leads directly from the Roman camp towards the castle-field at Hartfield, of which castle the mounds on which it stood alone remain; and is it too much to believe that this name has been derived from the Latin word *spodium*, signifying the refuse of an iron-furnace?—in fact, that Spode Lane was nothing more or less than Cinder Lane?

Of the presence of other invaders of our land, the Dane and the Saxon, those sturdy forefathers of Englishmen, from whom we have inherited, with other manly qualities, that ardent love of the sea which has made us the best sailors in the world, we have proofs in the names of places within our prescribed limits, of Dane Hill and Danehurst, of Saxonbury Hill on the heights of Eridge, and more distinctly revealed in the Saxon work in the curious old church at Worth. It is remarkable how many of the descendants of the Norman chiefs who followed the fortunes of the Conqueror have been established within our chosen district. The names of Nevill, Sackville, and West are identified with this country. The castles of their ancestors, with one great and fine exception, that of Tunbridge, have disappeared, but their descendants still dwell there in mansions better suited to the tastes and wants of more civilized life. There is no satisfaction in reflecting upon the conduct and character of those fierce and violent men, the Norman barons, but in judging them we must recollect that they were placed in a condition most adverse to the development of good moral character. In the words of M. Guizot, "A feudal chieftain of those days belonged to

himself alone ; he held nothing of any one, and all his rights and all his power centred in himself alone. What a vast influence must a situation like this have exercised over him who enjoyed it ! What haughtiness, what pride must it have engendered ! . . . No general and powerful law to restrain him, no exterior force to control him, his wishes suffered no checks but from the limits of his power and the presence of danger." But of the descendants of these fierce and lawless men it may with truth be said that, as a class, they have amply compensated to society for the misdeeds of their ancestors, and that they have been among the foremost in acts of piety and kindness and Christian love.

To the list of noble names which we have given as associated with this district, we might have added a few years since the illustrious one of Talbot. He who bore it, attracted by the quiet beauties of Cowden and its neighbourhood, came to live there. Gifted with talents which were proved in the struggles of an arduous profession, possessed of energies which were too severely tried, and, what was infinitely better, blessed with a disposition to do all he could to further the best and highest interests of his fellow-creatures, he was taken away from those to whom he would have been a guide and friend : and the church which he built in a distant part of the parish, is his best monument.¹

"As every change," to use the words of Mr. Hallam, "in the dwellings of mankind, from the earliest cabin built of wood to the stately mansion, has been dictated by some principle of convenience, neatness, comfort, or magnificence, it is interesting to trace them, showing, as they do, accompanying alterations in the tastes and habits of those that built them." Taking these words as our text, let us apply them to some of the buildings which still exist in this our favourite district, and there

¹ The Hon. John Chetwynd Talbot ; he died May 26th, 1852.

are abundant opportunities of doing so. Hever Castle is close by, and there we see reflected some symptoms of improvement in social habits,—there are some indications of confidence in the greater security for life and property, and an increased appreciation of those refinements which, indeed, compared with the elegances and luxuries of modern days, must be considered as extremely rude and barbarous, but which were obvious improvements upon the previous ages. The sterner features of defence, though not altogether gone, are greatly modified; the proud keep has disappeared, and there are no dungeons to tell of cruelty and suffering. A century or two had exerted some influence upon the savage character of our countrymen. But the moat surrounding the castle, the strong gate, and the old portcullis, the loopholes in the walls and the towers which flank each angle of the front, sufficiently show that at the time when it was built, and indeed long afterwards, its inmates could not dwell there in perfect peace and safety, in reliance on the law to guard them, but that they were forced to trust very much to the strong arm and the stronghold. The moat was the chief defence of many a humbler home than this; they are to be found surrounding houses throughout the whole district, particularly the parsonages, both in Kent and Sussex; and at Horsted Keynes, a beautiful village scarcely beyond the limits of our range, and in many of its features very like Cowden, at a place called Broadhurst, in the house where Archbishop Leighton passed the later years of his life, there is a heavy shield of wood suspended over the staircase, which when let down at night and strongly barred precluded all access to the sleeping-rooms.¹

Penshurst too is near at hand, showing, in the absence

¹ At a distance of about four miles from the station at Hayward's Heath, on the London and Brighton Railway, lies this beautiful sequestered village, and in the churchyard there rest the remains of Archbishop

of all means of defence, a happier and quieter state of social life, when that stately pile was raised: there it is, with its courtyard, its galleries, and, more than all, with its large and lofty hall. It requires no great effort of imagination to picture to ourselves a gallant party issuing forth from its wide portals; the knight on his handsome steed, his lady on her palfrey, with esquire and page and groom and falconer, to watch the hawk and the heron battling together in the sky; nor is it difficult to fancy them, on their return, carousing in that great hall,—the chieftains seated at the high table, and their kinsmen and retainers occupying the humbler places according to their ranks. All this has an air of splendour not without refinement about it, but what was the reality?¹ An envoy from Venice, who came to England at the close of the fifteenth century, has let us into many secrets as to our social condition at that time: though he found many things to admire,—though he spoke of us as being “essentially polite in our language, which, though derived from the German, had lost its natural harshness, and was pleasing in its sound,”—though he mentions a trait of our countrymen which we should little have expected in them, that “in addition to their civil speeches, they have the incredible courtesy of remaining with their heads uncovered with an admirable grace, whilst they talk to each other,”—though he gives us credit for possessing good understandings, and a ready aptitude of acquiring anything to which we applied our minds,—evidently considered us in many essential points an ignorant, illiterate, and barbarous people; and well he might, for he came from Italy, a nation which then far surpassed us in civilization and refinement, in arts,

Leighton. A plain, blue, broken stone, inserted in the wall of the church, was till very lately the only monument raised to his memory; one more worthy of him has been lately placed there.

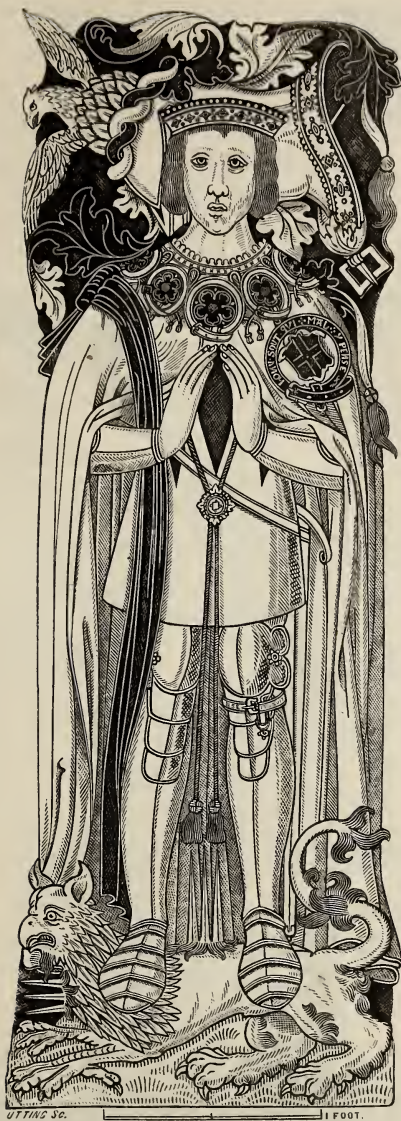
¹ ‘Italian Relation of England,’ published by the Camden Society.

literature, and science,—from the country of the Medici, of Michael Angelo and Raphael. “When we read,” says Mr. Hilhard in allusion to these times, “of the taste and civilization of Rome, the graceful entertainments of the nobility, the wit, the poetry, the courtly manners, the scholarship, the extended commerce, and the manufacturing skill which marked the period, it is difficult to believe that the best blood in England were then dining at ten, that the dinners were composed of huge masses of fresh and salted meat spread upon a great oak table, and that their food was shovelled into the mouth without the help of a fork,—that the floor of their dining-halls was strewn with rushes, among which the dogs searched and fought for bones,—and that in the intervals of feeding, their minds were recreated by the postures of tumblers and the coarse jokes of licensed jesters.”¹

It is time, however, that this paper should draw to a close, not that we have by any means exhausted every object of interest. To the lovers of old churches and their accompaniments, there are many things to delight them: there are the fine brasses of the families of Cheyne and Boleyn at Hever, and that curious one in the church of Leigh, which represents an angel with a trumpet summoning a female from her tomb, who is rising forth with joined hands, with a scroll from her mouth, with these words inscribed, “Behold, O Lord, I come willingly.” There is the lich-gate at Hartfield, under an old cottage, the corresponding house which

¹ ‘Six Months in Italy,’ by Mr. Hilhard. The savage spirit must have been pretty strong even in the best men in the days of Queen Elizabeth, when Sir Philip Sidney, though greatly provoked, could thus write to his father’s secretary:—

“Mr. Mollineux,—Few wordes are beste; my letters to my father have come to the eyes of some, neither can I condemne any but you for it. . . . I assure you before God, that if I know you do so much as read any letter I write to my father, without his commandment or my consent, I will thrust my dagger into you, and trust to it, for I speak in earnest; in the mean time, farewell.”—*Collins’s Sidney Papers*.



OF THIS SIZE.

11 FEET.

HERE LIETH S^r THOMAS BYLLEN
KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF THE GR^{er}
ERLE OF WILSHER AND ERLE OF ORM
VNDE WICHE DECESSED THE 12
DAI OF MARCHE IN THE YERE
OF OVR LORDE 1538.



Hic iacet Margareta quonda vxor Willm Cheyne
Que obiit xxiii die mensis Augusti Anno domini
Millmo. CCC. xix. cuius a[n]i[m]e p[ro]piciet deus Amen.

formed half the gate having been pulled down, the original arrangement being evidently the same with that at Penshurst.¹

Should any one gifted with that happy quality, a love of beautiful scenery, and with a taste for archæological pursuits, be induced by what has been written to exchange for a short time the smoke and tumult and occupations of a city, for the quiet repose and refreshment of a lovely country, and should he, in so doing, find health and peace and interest, one of the objects of the writer of this paper will have been accomplished.

¹ See 'The Churches of Kent,' by the Rev. Arthur Hussey.



ANCIENT BRASS IN LEIGH CHURCH.

“PROBATIO ÆTATIS” OF WILLIAM DE SEPTVANS.

FROM THE SURRENDEN COLLECTION.

IN the few introductory remarks made to the “Inquisitiones post mortem,” in the Appendix to this volume, an explanation is given of the nature and liabilities of tenures *in capite*.

It will be there seen, that on the death of a tenant holding by knight’s service, an inquisition was held pursuant to the King’s writ of “diem clausit extremum,” to inquire into the nature of his tenure, the extent and value of his lands, and the name and age of his heir. If the deceased was found to hold of the King *in capite*, and his heir was under age, the King, by his prerogative, took the land into his own hands as guardian, and kept them, or granted the custody of the same to some individual to hold, till the heir proved himself of age.

When the heir came of full age, in order to obtain his lands out of the King’s hands, he sued for a writ “de ætate probandâ,” which was forthwith issued to commissioners, as well as to the escheator, to inquire into the age of the infant, another writ being issued to the sheriff, to impanel a jury before the commissioners on an appointed day.

The jury returned their verdict on oath; and the heir, if proved of age, obtained livery of seisin of his lands.

Frauds on the Crown were occasionally committed, as the accompanying document fully testifies.

The evidences adduced in proof of age are among the

most interesting of those preserved among the national records; they develop much of the private history and pedigrees of families, often furnish very graphic pictures of domestic life, and supply valuable notices of historical facts, and local incidents.

The heir of the knightly and affluent house of Septvans, owner of extensive estates, evidently a youth of weak mind and reckless habits, had fallen into the hands of most unscrupulous and crafty plunderers, among whom the Lord of Penshurst, Sir Nicholas Lovayne, plays a conspicuous part. In order to accomplish their designs, it was necessary to concoct a regular conspiracy to remove his lands from the hands of the Crown during his minority, and then to beguile him into the alienation of his inheritance. Whether the Crown, “*ipso motu*,” claimed its rights, or the relatives of the unfortunate sufferer bestirred themselves to rescue the estates from the fangs of the plunderers, does not appear on the face of the document. Be this as it may, the case, which in our days would have been the subject of a suit in Chancery, was brought before the King’s Council in Parliament, which was then the only court¹ competent to relieve the sufferer and do justice to the claims of the Crown. Parliament annulled the acts of the minor, and restored to him his inheritance.

The attentive reader will find much in this transaction to illustrate the bearing of our feudal system on domestic life, and many points in our constitutional history, which escape the more comprehensive statements of the general historian: as such, and as developing a little tale in the annals of one of our old knightly families, we hope it may be deemed worthy a place in the ‘*Archæologia Cantiana*.’

¹ The Court of Chancery was not yet completely established as the court of equity for redress of grievances which are beyond the power and jurisdiction of the courts of law. *Vide* Mr. Hardy’s preface to the Close Rolls.

The document before us is an Exemplification, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal 41 Ed. III., of the Record of the case, as investigated and decided by Parliament. It was granted on the petition of William de Septvans, to whose recovered estate it had become an indispensable title-deed; for its production would at all times be legal and conclusive evidence against the representatives of those who had conspired to obtain possession of the minor's property.

The instrument is written partly in Latin, and partly in Norman-French; we have, however, rendered it into English, in the belief that in that form it will be more acceptable to some of our readers than it would have been if copied verbatim from the original language: it is as follows:—

"Letters Patent.

"Edward, by the grace of God . . . of England, Lord of Ireland and Aquitaine, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

"We have inspected a record and process had before our Lord the King, in his Parliament at Westminster, held on Monday, on the morrow of the Invention of the Holy Cross, in the fortieth year of his reign, in these words.

"Our Lord the King issued his writ in these words:—

"Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland and Aquitaine, to his beloved and faithful John de Cobham, of Kent, Thomas de Lodelowe, and William Waure, greeting.

"Whereas, we have been given to understand that William, son and heir of William de Septvans, Knight, deceased, who held of us, as of our Crown, *in capite*, and whose lands and tenements, with their appurtenances, in the counties of Kent, Sussex, and Essex, by reason of the minority of the foresaid heir, were taken into our hands, has insufficiently proved his age before our escheator in the said county of Kent, who was incorrectly informed thereof, at the procurance, invention, and information of certain persons, suggesting that the said William, son of William, was of full age: and that we were deceived in the said proof, because the foresaid heir is still within age, and will be so for a considerable time: and that, owing to our being deceived, the lands and tenements aforesaid, with their

‘appurtenances, were, by the said Inquisition, thus falsely informed, delivered out of our hands to the said heir, to the loss of the right and profit to us thereby pertaining.

“‘We, willing to provide for our indemnity, in this matter, as is fitting, have assigned you, and two of you, of whom we will you the said Thomas to be one, to inquire by the oath as well of knights as of other good and liege men of the said county of Kent, by whom the truth of the matter may be better known, concerning the age of the foresaid heir; and if by the said inquisition it should chance to be discovered that the said William, son of William, is still within age, then, by whom the proof of his foresaid age was made, and at whose procurance, invention, or information; and who have occupied the lands and tenements aforesaid, from the time of the proof of the foresaid age, and received the issues and profits thereof, and by what title, how, and in what manner, and where; and in whose company the said heir has been from the time aforesaid, and by whom he has been counselled and led away; and whether the lands and tenements aforesaid be wasted and destroyed in buildings and woods, or not, and if so, then by whom, and to what damage to us or the aforesaid heir; and how much those lands and tenements are worth, in all issues, per annum, according to the true value of the same; and how much profit we have lost by pretext of the foresaid proof of age thus incorrectly taken, and how much, and in what manner; and to inquire also into the truth more fully, concerning all other articles and circumstances touching the premisses; and therefore we command you that you do take, on and at certain days and places which you, or two of you, (of whom we will that you the said Thomas shall be one,) for this purpose shall appoint, an inquisition on all and singular the premisses; and it distinctly and openly made, you do send without delay to us in our Chancery, under your seals and the seals of those by whom it has been made, and this writ.

“‘For we have ordered our sheriff of the said county of Kent, that, on or at certain days and places, which you, or two of you, of whom we will you the foresaid Thomas to be one, shall make known to him, he shall cause to come before you, or two of you, of whom we will you the said Thomas to be one, so many and such, as well knights as other good and liege men of his bailiwick, by whom the truth of the things in the premisses may be better known and inquired into. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters patent to be made. Witness ourself at Russhyndon,¹ in the Isle of Shepeye, the 13th day of April, in the fortieth year of our reign.

“‘By letter under the seal called the Signet.’

¹ Rushingdon, a manor in Minster, in Sheppey.

"By pretext of which writ, the foresaid John, Thomas, and William, proceeded to inquire concerning the premisses, and took a certain inquisition, and divers evidences, in order to ascertain the truth of the age of the foresaid heir, of which inquisition and evidences, the tenour follows in these words:—

"An Inquisition held before John de Cobham, of Kent, Thomas de Lodelowe, and William Waure, assigned by commission of our Lord the King, to inquire concerning the age of William, son and heir of William de Septvans, Knight, deceased, who held of the said King, of his crown, *in capite*; and to do and fulfil certain other things contained in the Commission of our Lord the King, at Canterbury, on the Tuesday next before the Feast of St. George, in the fortieth year of our said Lord the King, by the oath of John de Northwode, Knight, Thomas Apuldrefeld, Knight, Thomas Chicche, Knight, Richard atte Lese, Knight, John de Brokhull, Knight, John Barry, William Apuldrefeld, Thomas Colpepir, Henry Apuldrefeld, senior, Henry Auger, Fulco Payforer, and Geoffrey Colpepir, who say, upon their oath, that the foresaid William, son and heir of the foresaid William, will be twenty years old, and no more, on the feast of St. Augustin the Doctor, next coming; and they say that twelve men, whose names are stitched to this Inquisition, were summoned before John de Tye, escheator of our Lord the King, in the county of Kent, at Canterbury, at a certain day now past, to prove the age of the said heir, of which men three, to wit, Alexander Raven, John Pikeryng, and Thomas Ropere, were not sworn before the said escheator, and so they say that the foresaid proof was neither rightly nor legitimately made, as they understand.

"They also say that William de Chirchehull, Clerk, was the first procurer, deviser, and instigator to the said William, son of William, at Canterbury, to make suit for his lands and tenements, to be removed from the hands of our Lord the King, and to prove his age; and after the return of the inquisition "*de ætate probandâ*," the said William de Chirchehull and Luke de Whetynden sued to have the foresaid lands and tenements out of the King's hands, inasmuch as the said Luke was retained of the counsel of the said William, son of William.

"And they say that the said William, son of William, had the mediety of the manor of Aldyngton,¹ in the county of Kent, which is worth ten pounds per annum; and certain marshes, called Loke-lyng and Hersyng, in Iwade, worth forty shillings per annum; in which mediety is a certain wood, worth one hundred pounds to sell, which the said William, son of William, occupied from the time when our Lord the King removed his hand therefrom, to the Feast

¹ *i. e.* Aldington Septvans, in Thurnham.

‘of the Nativity of our Lord, in the thirty-eighth year of our said Lord the King, at which time the said William, son of William, enfeoffed in the said tenements one John Gower, to hold to him and his heirs for ever, for which mediety, wood, and marshes he gave fourscore marks and no more; by virtue of which feoffment the said John Gower has occupied the said tenements, from the said Feast of the Nativity of our Lord until now, and still occupies them, and continues to receive the profits thereof.

“‘They also say that the foresaid William de Chircheshull was, as before, the procurer, deviser, and instigator, at Canterbury, to sue out of the King’s hands the manor of Milton,¹ in the said county of Kent, with its appurtenances, worth twenty pounds per annum, and one messuage in the city of Canterbury, worth twenty shillings per annum; and, after the return of the Inquisition *de ætate probandâ*, the foresaid William de Chircheshull and Luke de Whetynden sued to have the said manor and messuage out of the King’s hands, and in the same manner sued for ten pounds rent in Littlebourne and Welle.

“‘And they say, that afterwards, at the feast of Michaelmas, in the thirty-ninth year of our said Lord the King, at the appointment of Sir Nicholas de Loveyne,² the foresaid William, son of William, by virtue of an agreement made between the said Nicholas and the said William, son of William, enfeoffed Walter de Multon and Richard de Sugworth, capellans, and Richard Maufe, servants of the said Nicholas, in the foresaid manor of Melton and the foresaid rent in Littlebourne and Welle; by virtue of which feoffment, the said Walter, Richard, and Richard, the said manor, from the foresaid time until now, have occupied and still occupy; and the issues and profits thereof have received, to the use of the said Nicholas; and the said William, son of William, has continuously occupied and still occupies the said annual rent of ten pounds.

“‘Item, they say, that William, son of William, had in the said county of Kent, the manor of Promhull, worth thirty-five pounds per annum, of the gift and feoffment of Richard de Alesle, Rector of the church of Harrietsham, being charged to John Septvans, for life, with a certain annual rent of ten pounds, and held of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and which manor he alienated to the foresaid Walter, Richard Sugworth, and Richard Maufe, to the use of the said Nicholas.

“‘And they say that, after the foresaid feoffment made to the foresaid John Gower, the said William, son of William, was con

¹ *i. e.* Milton-next-Canterbury.

² Sir Nicholas de Lovaine was at this time Lord of the Manor of Penshurst.

'tinuously abiding in the company of Richard Hurst and the said John Gower, at Canterbury and elsewhere, until the feast of St. Michael last past, and throughout the whole of that time the said William, son of William, was there led away by them, and counselled to alienate his lands and tenements; and from the said feast of St. Michael, to the feast of St. Gregory last past, he was dwelling with the foresaid Nicholas Loveyne at Peneshurst, and elsewhere, and the said William, son of William, during the whole of that time was, by the said Nicholas, and the foresaid Walter, Richard de Sugworth, and Richard Maufe, there led away and counselled to alienate his lands and tenements.

"And they say that there is no waste or destruction in the foresaid lands and tenements.

"And, in like manner, they say, that Simon de Burgh, at his own suit, caused himself to be retained by the foresaid William, son of William, to be of his counsel, and made the said William, son of William, grant him, by his deed in writing, a certain annual rent of ten pounds, to him and his heirs, to be received from the said manor of Melton; which writing was delivered to the said Richard de Hurst, to be kept to the order of the said William; and afterwards, the said Richard delivered that writing to the said Simon, contrary to the wish of the said William.

"In testimony whereof the foresaid jury have attached their seals to this inquisition.

"Given at Canterbury, on the said Tuesday, in the fortieth year aforesaid.'

"The evidences by which the said jury arrived at the knowledge of the age of the foresaid heir, appear in a certain schedule hereto attached.

"The grounds on which they say and know that the infant is within age are these—to wit:

"In primis,—It is a thing known to many knights and squires on this inquest that they were with the Earl of Huntynghdon¹ when our dread Lord the King was at Caine; and the said Earl of Huntynghdon, actually in company with him, at the time² that the Earl of Ewe³ and the Chamberlain Tanker-

¹ Froissart states that the Earl of Huntynghdon commanded the flotilla in this expedition, and took back to England the prisoners and plunder of Caen:—"Draps, joyaux, vaisselle d'or et d'argent, et toutes autres richesses dont ils avoient grand foison."

² The English army, under Edward III. and Geoffrey d'Harcourt, arrived before Caen on the 26th July, 1346.

³ *Vide* p. 134.

‘vill were taken and sent to England; and at that time the said
 ‘Earl of Huntynghdon returned to England, to be cured of a ma-
 ‘lady which he had, and Mr. William de Septvans, father of the
 ‘infant, who was of the company and retinue of the said Earl,
 ‘returned to England with him; at which time they found the
 ‘wife of the said Mr. William pregnant of the said infant; and
 ‘the Earl of Huntynghdon went away to Poplar (Popeler) to lodge
 ‘there, in order to have his physicians handy from London, and
 ‘made the Countess¹ live at Preston, in order to be godmother
 ‘of the child, when it should be born; and the infant was born
 ‘on the day of St. Austyn the Doctor² next after, and the Abbot
 ‘of St. Austyn’s, predecessor of the Abbott that now is, and Mr.
 ‘Thomas Daldon³ the elder, who is dead, were godfathers of the
 ‘said infant, and the Countess godmother; and very soon after,
 ‘when the Earl was cured, he returned from thence over the sea,
 ‘and came to the siege of Calais, and Mr. William de Septvans
 ‘with him; and the said Mr. William told his companions, the
 ‘knights-esquires who are now sworn on this inquest, how, since
 ‘his departure from them, God, of his grace, had so visited him,
 ‘that he had sent him a son; and that this thing is true, they
 ‘are ready to do whatever it becomes any gentleman to do,⁴
 ‘and how long it is since the siege of Calais is not an unknown
 ‘thing.

“ ‘Another evidence they have: William, Abbot of St. Aus-
 ‘tyn’s,⁵ predecessor of the Abbot that now is, godfather of the
 ‘infant, very soon after he raised him from the font, died, within
 ‘one month after; and immediately the Abbot that now is, and
 ‘the monks, sued our dread Lord the King, to obtain leave from
 ‘him to go to a new election; and our dread Lord the King
 ‘granted license by his patent, which is of record, and which
 ‘was then shown at Canterbury, bearing date the twentieth
 ‘year of the King that now is; and that this thing is true, the

¹ *i. e.* Juliana de Leyborne, the subject of our article, p. 1.

² The 28th of August.

³ *i. e.* Thomas de Aldon.

⁴ “Defaire qûq attient a nul gentiz homz defaire,” *i. e.* to vouch the truth in any way becoming to a gentleman.

⁵ *i. e.* William Drulege, who died September 11, 1346.

' Abbot that now is, and the Prior of the said house, and a
' Doctor of Decrees, and other enough monks of the same house,
' are ready to prove, on their oath, when it shall please the
' King.

" ' The third evidence they have : there is one Sir John Fre-
' body, parson of the church of Bocton, who was treasurer to
' Mr. Thomas Daldon, who was the other godfather of the in-
' fant, by whose account it appears, that he delivered to the said
' Mr. Thomas Daldon, his lord and master, a silver cup and ewer
' to give to the said infant, the which he gave to the said infant
' on the morrow of the feast of St. Austyn aforesaid, in the
' twentieth year of the King that now is.'

" As by the record and process thereof held, and returned into the
Chancery of our Lord the King, may more plainly appear.

" And whereas our Lord the King was informed that the said
William (after that the lands and tenements which are of his inhe-
ritance, and which by reason of his minority were in the King's
hands, were delivered to the said William, out of the King's hands,
by pretext of the foresaid proof,) alienated a large part of the said
lands and tenements to divers persons, and bound himself to many
persons in divers sums of money and annual rents, as well by letters
of statute merchant, as by other divers deeds enrolled among the
Rolls of the King's Chancery : He caused the foresaid record and
process (as well for the indemnity of the said King, lest he should
lose the custody of the foresaid lands and tenements by the said
deception, as of the foresaid William, lest during his minority he be
disinherited) to come into his Parliament, held at Westminster, on
the morrow of the Invention of the Holy Cross, in the fortieth year
of our said Lord the King ; which record and process, and the in-
quisition and evidences aforesaid, being shown, read, and examined
before our said Lord the King, the prelates, and magnates, and com-
monalty of the kingdom of England in the said Parliament ; the
said William, son of William de Septvans, being there in person, it
appeared to the whole Parliament, that the said William, son of
William, was not of full age, as is contained in the foresaid proof ;
whereupon it was considered in the said Parliament that that proof
was of no value or effect, and that all the lands and tenements, with
their appurtenances, which belonged to the said William de Septvans,
father of the said William, son of William, and which, by reason of
the minority of the said William, son of William, the heir of the
said William de Septvans, were taken into the king's hands, and to

the said heir, as of full age, by pretext of the foresaid proof (thus insufficiently made) were delivered out of the King's hands, should be reseized into the King's hands, to whosoever hands they might have come; together with the issues received therefrom, from the time of the foresaid proof, and should remain in the King's hands until the legal age of the foresaid heir; and that all deeds, writings, and obligations, as well as of statute merchant and of the staple, as all other whatsoever, and also the recognizances by him made before the present time to any persons whatsoever, should be revoked, quashed, and altogether annulled. And that processes should be issued, by writs of ‘scire facias,’ against all those to whom any lands or tenements of the inheritance of the said William, son of William (after proof of the foresaid age, and livery of the lands and tenements of his inheritance, from our hands had), have been alienated; and also against all those to whom the said William, son of William, has granted any annual rents; also, against all those to whom the said William, son of William, is bound in any debts, by statute merchant or of the staple, or by recognizances, or charters, writings, or any other deeds; to cause them to come into the King's Chancery, to show if they have or know anything that they can say, for themselves, why the foresaid lands, tenements, and rents, thus alienated, ought not to be reseized into the King's hands, and the charters, writings, statutes, recognizances, obligations, and other deeds which were executed by the said William, son of William, quashed and annulled, as of no effect and in error; and to do and receive what shall be just in this matter.”

“Now we, on the supplication of the said William de Septvans, have thought fit that the tenour of the record and process aforesaid, be exemplified by these presents.

“In testimony whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made patent.

“Witness ourself at Westminster, the first day of March, in the forty-first year of our reign.¹

[*On the fold.*] “Examined by John de Ffolkingham and Robert de Muskham.”

[*Sealed with the great seal.*]

“It is enrolled among the memoranda of the Exchequer, to wit, among the Records of Easter Term, in the forty-sixth year of the within-written King, on the part of the King's Remembrancer, to wit, in a certain process touching the within-written William Septvans.”

¹ March, 1366-7.

The "Earl of Ewe," alluded to at p. 130, was Raoul the third, Count of Eu and Guisnes, and Constable of France, who, with the Count de Tancarville, had been sent by the French King to take charge of the defence of Caen. On the appearance of the English forces before that town, the Bourgeois persuaded the two Counts, against their better judgment, to lead them out to attack the English. At the first sight of the British array, and at the sound of their cheers, the Bourgeois fled in dismay, leaving the two Counts at the Bridge, who, seeing themselves deserted by their followers, at once surrendered themselves prisoners, to save themselves from the indiscriminate slaughter which the British archers were mercilessly inflicting. The account which Froissart gives of the scene is so charmingly graphic, that it is impossible to resist the temptation of transcribing it. It must be observed, however, that some chroniclers accuse the two Counts of traitorous dealings with the English, and of passing over to them without fighting.

"Si très tôt que ces bourgeois de la ville de Caen virent approcher ces Anglois qui venoient en trois batailles, drus et serrés, et aperçurent ces bannières et ces pennons à grand foison ventiler et baloier (voltiger), et ouïrent ces archers ruire (crier) qu'ils n'avoient point accoutumé de voir ni de sentir, si furent si affrayés et déconfits d'eux mêmes, que tous ceux du monde ne les eussent mie retenus qu'ils ne se fussent mis à la fuite : si se retraist (retira) chacun vers leur ville sans arroy (ordre), voulut le connétable ou non.

"Adonc put-on voir gens fremir et ébahir, et cette bataille ainsi rangée déconfire à (avec) peu de fait, car chacun se pena de rentrer en la ville à sureté. Là eut grand enchaz (embarras) et maint homme renversé et jeté par terre ; et chéoièrent (tomboient) à mont l'un sur l'autre, tant étoient ils fort enhidez (épouvantés). Le Connétable de France, et le Comte de Tancarville, et aucunt chevaliers se mirent à une porte sur l'entrée du pont à sauveté, car bien veoient (voyoièrent) que, puisque leurs gens fuyoièrent, de recouvrer n'y avoit point ; car ces Anglois jà

etoient entrés et avalez (descendus) entre eux, et les occioient (tuoient) sans merci, à volonté. Aucuns chevaliers et ecuyers et autres gens, qui savoient le chemin vers le chattel, se traioient (rendoient) cette part; et tous les recueilloit Robert de Warignies,¹ car le chattel est durement grand et plentureux. Ceux furent à sauveté qui là purent venir. Les Anglois, gens-d’armes et archers qui enchassoient les fuyants, faisoient grand occision; car ils ne prenoient nulli (personne) à merci. Dont il avint que le Connétable de France et le Comte de Tancarville, qui estoient montés en cette porte au pied du pont à sauveté, regardoient au long et à mont (en haut) la rue, et véoient (voyoient) si grand pestillence et tribulation que grand’ hideur (terreur) étoit à considérer et imaginer; si se doutèrent (craignirent) d’eux memes qu’ils ne cheissent (tombassent) en ce parti et entre mains d’archers qui point ne les connussent. Ainsi qu’ils regardoient à val (en bas) en grand’ doute (crainte) ces gens tuer, ils aperçurent un gentil chevalier Anglois qui n’avoit qu’un œil, que on appeloit messire Thomas Holland, et cinq ou six bons chevaliers avec lui; lequel messire Thomas ils avisèrent, car ils s’étoient autrefois vus et accompagnés (tenus compagnie) l’un l’autre en Grenade et en Prusse et en autres voyages, ainsi que les chevaliers se trouvent. Si furent tous réconfortés quand ils le virent. Si l’appelèrent en passant et lui dirent: ‘Messire Thomas, parlez à nous.’ Quand le chevalier se ouit nommer il s’arreta tout coi, et demanda, ‘Qui êtes vous, seigneurs, qui me connoissez?’ Les dessus seigneurs se nommèrent et dirent, ‘Nous sommes tels, venez parler à nous en cette poste, et nous prenez prisonniers.’ Quand le dit messire Thomas ouit cette parole, il fut tout joyeux, tant pour ce qu’il les pouvoit sauver, comme pour ce qu’il avoit en eux prenant, une belle journée, et une belle aventure de bons prisonniers pour avoir cent mille moutons.² Si se

¹ He was Governor of the Castle. The reading in Johnes is “Robert de Blargny.”

² Pieces of money so called from their being stamped with a representation of the Holy Lamb.

Our chronicler afterwards tells us that the King purchased the two Counts from Sir Thomas Holland for twenty thousand nobles. Hollingshed, however, states that the Earl of Tancarville was taken by “one surnamed Legh, ancestor to Sir Peter Legh now living,” and that the King recompensed him by a grant of a “lordship in the county of Chester, called Hanley, which the said Sir Peter Legh doth now possess.”

traist (retira) au plutôt qu'il put à (avec) toute sa route (troupe) cette part, et descendirent lui et seize des siens, et montèrent à mont en la porte, et trouvèrent les dessus dits seigneurs et bien vingt cinq chevaliers avec eux, qui n'étoient mie bien asseurs (sûrs) de l'occision qu'ils véoient (voyoient) que on faisoit sur les rues, et se rendirent tous tantôt et sans delai au dit messire Thomas, qui les prit et fiança ses prisonniers ; et puis mit et laissa de ses gens assez pour les garder, et monta à cheval et s'en vint sur les rues ; et detourna ce jour à faire cruauté et plusieurs horribles faits qui eussent été faits, si il ne fut allé au devant, dont il fit aumône et gentillesse.

"Avec le dit messire Thomas Holland avoit plusieurs gentils chevaliers d'Angleterre qui rescouirent (empêchèrent) maint meschef à faire, mainte belle bourgeoisie et mainte dame de cloître à violer."

(Froissart—Buchon, vol. xi. pp. 314–320.)

Our Kentish readers will readily pardon the length of this extract from Froissart, as recording the noble and chivalrous bearing of one of our own most distinguished Earls.

This Sir Thomas Holland was husband of "the fair Maid of Kent," Joan Plantagenet, daughter of Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent, the sixth son of Edward I. In her right (as sister and heir to her brother John Plantagenet) our "gentil chevalier" became Earl of Kent. He was likewise lord of the manors of Dartford and Wickham Breaux, and of the hundred of Littlefield, in this county.

L. B. L.

DISCOVERY OF FRAGMENTS OF ANCIENT BRITISH, ROMANO-BRITISH, AND ROMAN POTTERY FOUND IN A CHALK CAVERN IN CAMDEN PARK, CHISLEHURST, NEAR BROMLEY, KENT.

BY ROBERT BOOTH LATTER, ESQ.

ON the western edge of the rising ground, a portion of which is the wild heath known as Chislehurst Common, the chalk, overcapped with "Thanet sands" and gravelly drift, forms an escarpment, produced by the separation of the chalk rock; the sunken portion of the chalk forms the contour of the valley which passes through Sundridge Park, Bromley, towards Lee. Along this valley flows occasionally a small stream, gathered from the watershed of the long winding line of declivities above.

The chalk escarpment may be traced at the foot of the woods of Bickley, Camden Park, and Sundridge Park, along the boundary line between Bromley and Chislehurst formed by the stream under the Bickley Woods. The horizontal chalk adits, now in many parts choked up with sand fallen in from above, (and these adits extend to great lengths in various directions underground,) must have been worked for many ages.

Under Camden Park, it is reported among the chalk-workers, that waggons and horses have been led underground, into horizontal adits and passages. The openings, however, are now closed up with sloping banks of fallen sand.

Under Sundridge Park, lower down the valley, the chalk lies deeper, and is there overlaid by those interesting "tertiary" conglomerate beds, described by Buckland and others, containing the *Ostrea Bellovacina*, *Cyrena*, *Serpulæ*, etc.; but here, surface ground has sunk into a cavity below.

Along the watercourse under Camden Park, the stream is here and there suddenly lessened in volume, and one may observe the water engulfed on one side of the bank or the other, in what are termed, in various parts of the kingdom, swallet- or swallow-holes.

In Camden Park the excavations in the side apertures of the protruding chalk rock, as they *now appear*, are of recent origin.

In May, 1857, a labourer was employed in Camden Park pit, in cutting chambers in the chalk at right-angles, and removing chalk for lime-burning; suddenly his pickaxe entered a mass of dark, soft, pulpy, sandy earth. On widening the aperture the mass of dark earth appeared in considerable quantity, and the skull of a large dog or wolf, with several delicate land shells, rolled with the mass at his feet.

A few gentlemen visited the spot, and, assisted by careful labourers, the earth was removed, and well examined, both *in situ* and in separation. The first large skull found was of delicate texture and much shivered. The parts however were afterwards united, and appearances suggested the possibility of its being the skull of the *Anoplotherium*; competent authorities have, however, suggested that it is that of the extinct *Bos longifrons*. Unfortunately the teeth were wanting, and the sockets were too much fractured for very accurate judgment.

The accidental pickaxe-blow fortunately entered the *base* of the cavity, and this was first explored; the compact nature of the earth above allowed this mode of proceeding. At or near the base were found great

numbers of separate teeth, and jaws of large animals of the ox and deer tribe, with parts of deer-horn in various stages of growth, with the teeth and jaws of dog or wolf, and remnants of early rude British or Romano-British pottery, and among these, the skulls of (apparently) hedgehogs, and great numbers of perfect specimens of the tender *Helix nemoralis*. This circumstance (the tender shell being *unbroken*), and the pulpy sandy state of the earth, led to the early conclusion that water, by slow degrees, had been the agent exerted in carrying in the shells at least, which must have floated and gradually subsided in the soft pulp, whilst the water became drained off by the porous and fissured nature of the rock.

Over these bones and shells, a few feet above the base, irregular blocks of chalk (on which might be traced the mark of a tool worked by the hand of man), with huge flints interspersed with tertiary round pebbles, in mass a foot or two in thickness, were lying compact, in cone-like form, highest in the centre; and the earth *above*, as well as *below* the arched chalk mass, was striped in corresponding cone-like form, it was observed, as if a small stream of water had slowly and gradually fallen from above on the *centre*, carrying with it the *débris* it met with in its passage. Above this layer of chalk and large flint, the perfect shells (yet exhibiting, in some instances, striped bands of delicate colour) again largely appeared, with jaw-bones and teeth of ox, deer, dog or wolf, and remnants of rude pottery: most were found around the edges. On one side of the cavity was doubled up the nearly complete skeleton of a hog, and above it, also in a contorted position, doubled up, the skeleton of a small horse or ass, the coffin-bones being perfect.

Openings had been made on each side of the chalk cavity, and when the earth from below had been removed within arm's-reach of the spades and tools employed,

poles and spikes were thrust against the soil overhead, the operators being protected by the chalk floors of the adits, and the earth was allowed to fall on the floor of the cave, whence it was removed and minutely examined. Among the earth which fell from above, a small vessel of *red Samian ware* (evidently almost the last substance that had fallen into the cavity) was dislodged.

On the removal of the earth, the floor was carefully worked over: it disclosed nothing but a basin-shaped floor in the natural chalk rock. The probable "opening" above has not yet been touched, but a dark oval spot can be seen from within the cave, at the top of the circular decanter-shaped excavation, and the impression of a large square-shaped tool is still observable on the chalk sides.

The height of this circular excavation is seventeen feet eight inches, the diameter eleven feet eight inches; the untouched earth, from the top of the excavation within, to the surface of the turf outside, may be of the thickness of about ten feet.

A few pieces of flint, apparently knives and arrow-heads, came to light, but no human bone, nor tool, nor weapon; nor has any coin yet been met with to fix a date. The Samian ware however (potter's mark, VIC) would lead to the conclusion that the cave existed prior to the fifth century: it is slightly broken, and apparently a salt-cellar.

The *unburnt* vegetable fibre appearing in some of the fragments of pottery among the blackened shades of the burnt clay, and on other fragments the dull black tint, suggest that these vessels were burnt in "smother kilns," during the existence of the extensive Romano-British pottery-works in Kent and Northamptonshire: all appear to be remnants of articles of domestic use.

If the date of the formation of the cavern be doubtful, the even circular form, and the violently applied tool-marks, render it certain it was the work of man. Simi-

lar excavations have been discovered in various parts of Gaul and Britain. Cæsar ordered the caves into which the Aquitanian Gauls had retreated to be closed up. Those mentioned by Camden, discovered near Tilbury and near Faversham, may, upon further examination of the orifice of this pit, be identical in form, narrow towards the top, and broad in expanding circle below, contracting towards the base.

The sinkers of the pit probably had in view the extraction of "marl" for agricultural purposes, referred to by Pliny:—"The Britons used to sink pits one hundred feet in depth, narrow at the mouth, but within of great compass." And Tacitus refers to these pits as storehouses for corn, and places of refuge from the enemy.

The opening towards the top, as has been stated, has not yet been touched, but if on examination it shall be found that the steining has been *dislodged*, it may be inferred that the tool-cut blocks of chalk, and large flints found among the bones, were those which had originally formed the steining of the *shaft* or approach from above; and if so, the bones of the animals (ruminants of the woods and fields, animals of prey and of the chase) found *below* as well as *above* the fallen steining, have belonged to *pit-fallen* animals; whilst the watershed falling down the extensive range of loamy sloping hills, may have carried in its course any fragments of bone or pottery, land-shells or other light substances, into the opening thus formed, especially as there is reason to suppose that the surface around has been covered with wood and wild vegetation to such an extent as to allow of no forewarning of danger.

The "swallow" near Camden Park appears to have been a boundary-mark in A.D. 862, mentioned in a Saxon Charter of Æthelberht, King of Wessex, to Dryghtwald his minister, granting ten carucates of land in Bromleag,—"ðanne fram Swelgende, Cregsetna haga, to sioxhiltre,"

—"then from the Swallow, the Cray-settler's dwelling,¹ to the gibbet-mark."

The long-used Bickley chalk-pits near, are probably those referred to as "Swellinde Pette," in the Saxon charter dated between 1250 and 1274, by which Andreas de Chiselherst granted to the Bishop of Rochester and his successors, eightpence annual rent out of the "Marlera" at "Swellinde Pette," in "Villa de Chisleherst."

The hillside above the valley, now Camden Park, laid down in grass, presents, on passing the eye over the formerly ploughed lands, several surface irregularities and slight hollows, denoting some former disturbance of the surface.

It is reported that some years since, the earth on the opposite side of the valley fell into a cavity below; and lately, in Sundridge Park, a similar fall took place, but the cavity was at once filled up without examination. Similar earthfalls have been observed at Paul's Cray and Cudham. Within a few feet however of the lately explored cavern, the side of one of the adits, some distance apart from the other, has slightly given way, and has disclosed similar black earth, in an apparently similar cavity, and this unexplored cavern remains untouched, awaiting future operations.

Although no trace of the existence of a Roman building in Camden Park as yet appears, except the remnants of early fictile ware thus found on the spot, it is undoubted that Roman gentry, during the four centuries of the Roman occupation of Britain, had residences not far distant, and, in the language of antiquarians, "hereabout."

¹ "Chislehurst-man's dwelling,"—*forsan*.



ST. MILDRED'S, CANTERBURY.

BY R. HUSSEY, ESQ., F.S.A.

It is not uncommon to find fragments of Roman work in the walls of medieval buildings which occupy or are adjacent to Roman sites, and these remains are sometimes the only evidence of the earlier settlement,¹ as at Eynesford Castle, in this county. They usually consist of tiles or thin bricks, generally more or less broken, and sometimes of pieces of hard concrete or mortar built in at random with the ordinary materials of the walls;² but

¹ Some small lumps of concrete which were found in the walls of the church at Frittenden, in this county, during the repairs in 1846, were, until recently, the only signs of Roman occupation in that neighbourhood; but in the course of last year two sepulchral urns were dug up within about a mile of the church.

² It is well known that Roman mortar and concrete may very frequently

when the tiles are abundant they are used, especially in districts where stone is scarce, for quoins and for relieving arches over openings. Occasionally less rude and insignificant remnants of Roman work are met with in later erections, but they seldom amount to more than a few squared stones; these should always be carefully examined, to see whether they retain any original features of interest, and their geological character should be noticed, especially if they are not the produce of the neighbourhood.

The church of St. Mildred, at Canterbury, has many fragments of Roman tiles built into the walls among the flints; and it is my firm belief that most of the stones of the two quoins of the south wall of the nave, have also been taken from a Roman building; the majority of them are of larger size than are usually found in medieval work, especially of a date so early as this wall; and five of those in the western quoin, and six in the eastern, are of oolite, a material very rarely found in this

be distinguished by the redness of the pounded tiles and pottery with which it is made, instead of sand and gravel. The same materials may perhaps, occasionally, and to a slight extent, have been used in medieval buildings; but, with the exception of some very late works at Colchester, no specimen which could be mistaken for Roman has ever come under my observation. Mr. Hudson Turner, in the introduction to his 'Domestic Architecture in England' (p. xxvi.), discredits the idea that this peculiarity in mortar is a certain evidence of Roman date; and he gives a translated extract, from an account of the repairs of Newgate in 1282, in proof that pounded tile was used in mortar at that time. But his quotation is inconclusive; the document to which he refers is probably written in Latin, with contractions, and it may be that the broken tiles which he has supposed to be for making mortar, were provided *pro cement.*, that is, "pro cementariis," for the masons, or wallers, and were intended to be used for some other purpose, perhaps to be laid under some of the thinner stones, where required to bring them up to the general level of the courses, as was frequently done in medieval erections. Tiles, mostly broken, were also much used in medieval times for the backs of fireplaces, and were considered to be peculiarly fit for works exposed to the action of fire. Antiquaries who wish to gain credence for opinions based on ancient documents, must set forth the documents fully, and in their original language.

district, in buildings contemporary with this church.¹ The lowest and largest stone in the western quoin is about 4 feet, by 2 feet 9 inches, by 1 foot 5 inches, and there are indentations upon it which show that it has been used for some other purpose. There is also, on one side, what appears to be a hole for a lewis² (now stopped with cement), which, if it is so, implies that it once occupied a higher position in an earlier building. Each of these quoins contains one stone taken from a large arch; that in the western is 1 foot 11 inches long, 1 foot 3 inches wide at the upper or broadest end, and, to speak technically, 1 foot 8 inches deep in the bed; the other, in the eastern quoin, is broken, and I could not reach to measure it, but it seems to be of corresponding dimensions. I have not been into the church, and do not know whether the interior presents any characteristics to determine the date of the south wall. Externally the original features have been obliterated by subsequent alterations, but the construction shows that it is not later than the Early English period, and it probably may be older. It is very unlikely that at that time such stones as these could have been taken from any but a Roman building. I am too ignorant of geology to be able to say from whence these pieces of oolite have been brought, but it may be hoped that some one better informed will determine their native district. The Romans certainly carried oolite into this part of the country for building purposes, for fragments

¹ A stone of rather coarse texture, but very durable quality, of the oolite kind, dug on the banks of the Orne, below Caen, was imported into this country during the prevalence of the Norman and Early English styles, and possibly later; but this appears to be very different from the stones under consideration, and I have never met with it in pieces of any great size, except perhaps occasionally a gravestone. Is not the stone in the Martyrdom, in the cathedral at Canterbury, on which Becket is said to have fallen, of this kind?

² The lewis is said to have been used in medieval times. I do not remember ever to have met with any indication of its employment.

of it were found at the villa at Hartlip, when re-opened a few years ago; it is also met with at the villa at Bignor in Sussex; and a block of it lies within the walls of Richborough Castle, which was probably taken there by the Romans. The late Dr. Buckland, on a slight examination of a piece which he broke off this last-mentioned specimen, said he believed it came from the neighbourhood of Weymouth.

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Be hyt remembryd that I quene Elizabeth late
wyffe to the excellent pryncer hys Edward the
my^{te} have receyved the xxj day of may the vijth yere
of hys hery the vijth of John lord denham treasorer
of . yngland be the handes of thomas stacydon of
the reseynt xxj li in pty of payment of &
& li due to me at este last past do hyt
apoynt be my annuete grauntyd to hys hery
in wytnes wher of I have endosyd thys byll
wyt^h my hand the day & yere abovesaid
Elizabeth

He hit remembre
myselfe to the ex
myte have reser
of hys heresore
of. ym land b. of
tho reserpte yt
of it due tot
dworth bo m
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wyte my ha
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f

QUEEN ELIZABETH WOODVILLE.

FROM H. M. STATE PAPER OFFICE.

THE facsimile of a document preserved among the Public Records, will be interesting to all Kentish men, to say nothing of the ladies of that county. It relates to one of the two women of Kent who had the honour to become Queens of England; being the receipt of Elizabeth, the widow of King Edward IV., for the sum of £30, the arrears of her half-year's pension.

The connexion of this illustrious lady with the county of Kent, through her father, Sir Richard Woodville, is too well known to need recapitulation; but her courtship and marriage with the King are so quaintly described in "The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke," as to excuse the introduction here of an extract from that old Chronicle.—

"The King being on huntyng in the forest of Wychwood besyde Stonnystratforde, came for his recreacion to the manor of Grafton, where the duches of Bedford soiorned, then wyfe to syr Richard Woduile, Lord Ryuers, on whom then was attendyng a doughter of hers, called dame Elizabeth Greye, wydow of syr Jhon Grey, Knight, slayn at the last battell of sainte Albon's, by the power of Kyng Edward. This wydow hauyng a suit to y^e Kyng, either to be restored by hym to some thyng taken from her, or requyryng hym, of pitie, to have some augmentacion to her liuyng, founde such grace in the Kynges eyes, that he not onely fauored her suyte, but mucche more phantasied her person, for she was a woman more of formal countenaunce, then of excellent beautie, but yet of such beautie & fauor, that with her sober demeanure, louely loking, and

femynne smylyng (neither to wanton nor to humble) besyde her tounge so eloquent, and her wit so pregnant, she was able to rauishe the mynde of a meane person, when she allured and made subject to her y^e hart of so great a King. After that Kyng Edward had well considered all the linyamentes of her body, and the wise and womanly demeanure that he saw in her, he determined first to attempt, if he might prouoke her to be his souereigne lady, promisyng her many gyftes and fayre rewardes, affirmyng farther, y^t if she therunto condescend, she might so fortune of his peramour and concubyne, to be chaunged to his wyfe and lawfull bedfelow; which demaunde she so wisely, and with so couert speache aunswered and repugned, affirmyng that as she was for his honor farre unable to be hys spouse and bedfelow; so for her awne poore honestie, she was to good to be either hys concubyne, or souereigne lady: that where he was a littell before heated with the darte of Cupido, he was nowe set all on a hote burnyng fyre, what for the confidence that he had in her perfyte constancy, and the trust that he had in her constant chastitie, & without any farther deliberacion, he determined with him selfe clerely to marye with her, after that askyng counsaill of them, whiche he knewe neither woulde nor once durst impugne his concluded purpose.

“But the duches of Yorke hys mother letted it as much as in her lay, alledgyng a precontract made by hym with the lady Lucye, and diverse other lettes: all which doubttes were resolved, and all thinges made clere, and all cauillacions auoyed. And so, priuilie in a mornyng he married her at Grafton, where he first phantasied her visage.”

It is not our intention to trace the fortunes and misfortunes of this illustrious lady; it will be sufficient, for the purpose of this notice, to draw attention to the document before us. In addition to its interest for the inhabitants of Kent, it is a record of great historical importance (now for the first time brought forward), because it proves that her son-in-law, King Henry VII., has been misrepresented and unjustly blamed for his treatment of this Queen; it being alleged that he seized all her lands and possessions, and confined her in the Abbey of Bermondsey, in Southwark, where she shortly after died.

Now this receipt, in conjunction with the Letters Patent, dated 19th February, 5 Hen. VII., proves that (supposing even the King had seized her possessions, of which, however, there is no proof on record), Henry VII. granted her an annuity of £400 for life, equal to at least £4000 a year of the present money.

In addition to this document, two others, bearing the signature of the Queen, are extant in the Public Record Office: one, a letter in Latin, addressed to her husband, King Edward IV.; the other, addressed to Sir William Stoner, and dated from her manor of Greenwich, in Kent, is here given as a specimen of a royal letter of that period.—

“By the Quene.

“Trusty and welbeloved, We grete you wel. And where as we understand, by report made unto us at this tyme, that ye have taken upon yow now of late to make maistries withynne our Forest and Chace of Barnewod and Exsille, and there, in contempt of us, uncourteisly to hunt and slee our Deer withynne the same, to our grete mervaille and displeasir, We wol ye wite that we entend to sew suche remedy therynne as shall acorde with my Lordes lawes. And where as we ferthermore understand that ye purpose, under colo^r of my Lordes Commys-sionne in that behalf graunted unto you, as ye sey hastily to take the vieu and reule of our game of Dere withynne our said Forest and Chace, We wol that ye shew unto us or our Counselle, yo^r said Commissionne, if any suche ye have, And in the mean season that ye spare of huntyng withynne our said Forest or Chace, as ye wol answe^re at your perille. Yeven under our signet, at our Maner of Grenewiche, the first Day of August.

“(Signed) ELYSABETH.

“*Addressed*: To our trusty and welbeloved Sir William Stoner, Knight.”

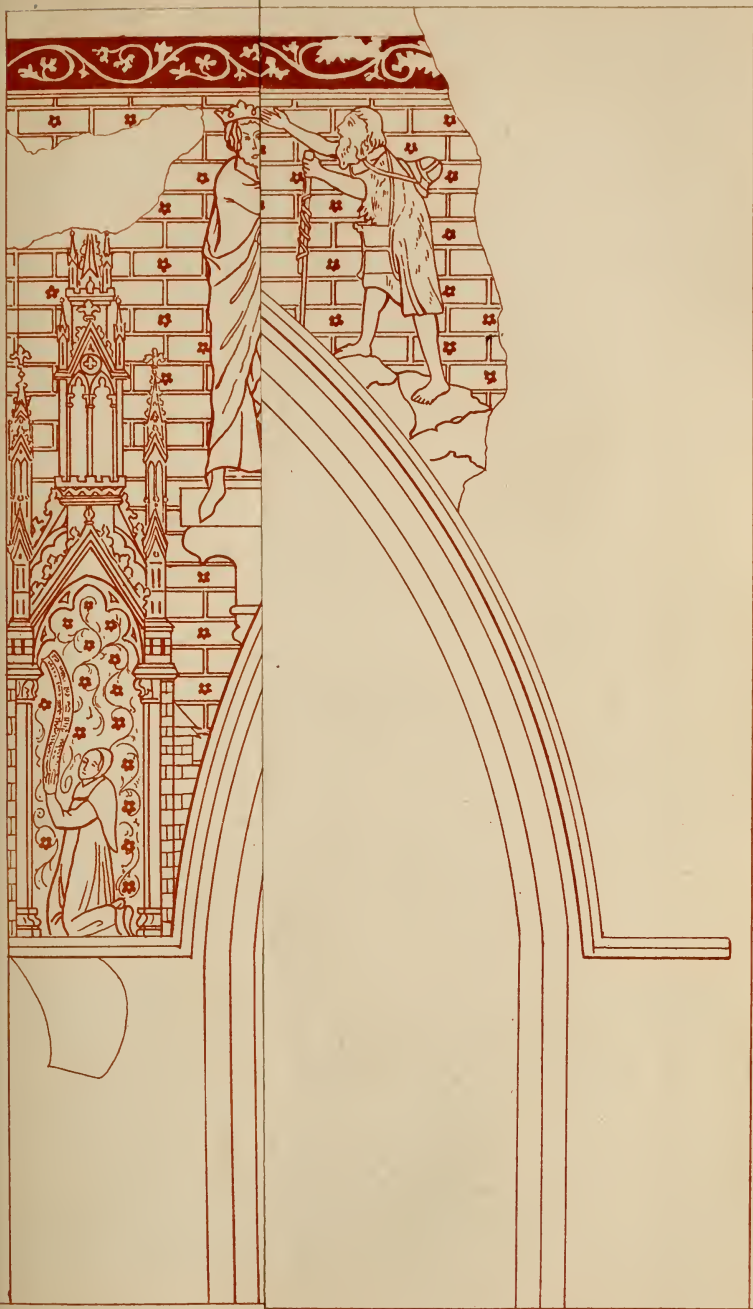
FAVERSHAM CHURCH, KENT.

BY THOMAS WILLEMENT, ESQ., F.S.A.

IN the year 1851, during some alterations in this church, part of the walls, towards the eastern end of the aisles, was then cleared of many repeated coats of white-wash, and the removal of these brought into view considerable remains of wall-painting; they were generally in detached portions, but showing that the whole of the walls had been formerly thus decorated throughout.¹

The most perfect remains are shown on the drawings which accompany this paper, and were all found on the north side of the south wall of the north aisle of the chancel, touching the east end. Commencing from the east wall, on a pier, is the kneeling figure of a Judge looking towards the spot where formerly stood the altar of St. Thomas-à-Becket; he is clothed in a long scarlet robe, lined with minever, having on his head the white "coyf," tied beneath his chin. In his uplifted hands he holds a scroll, on which is an inscription in uncial letters, arranged in two lines; the words of this inscription will be referred to hereafter. He is represented as within a niche, above which arises a rich and lofty tabernacle;

¹ There are some remains of painting at the east end of this aisle, but these have been nearly effaced by the subsequent introduction of a perpendicular window. On an octagonal column in the north transept, there yet remains, in a tolerably perfect state, a series of subjects illustrative of the life of the Virgin; they are well drawn, on alternate grounds of blue and red.



FAVERSHAM CHURCH, KENT.

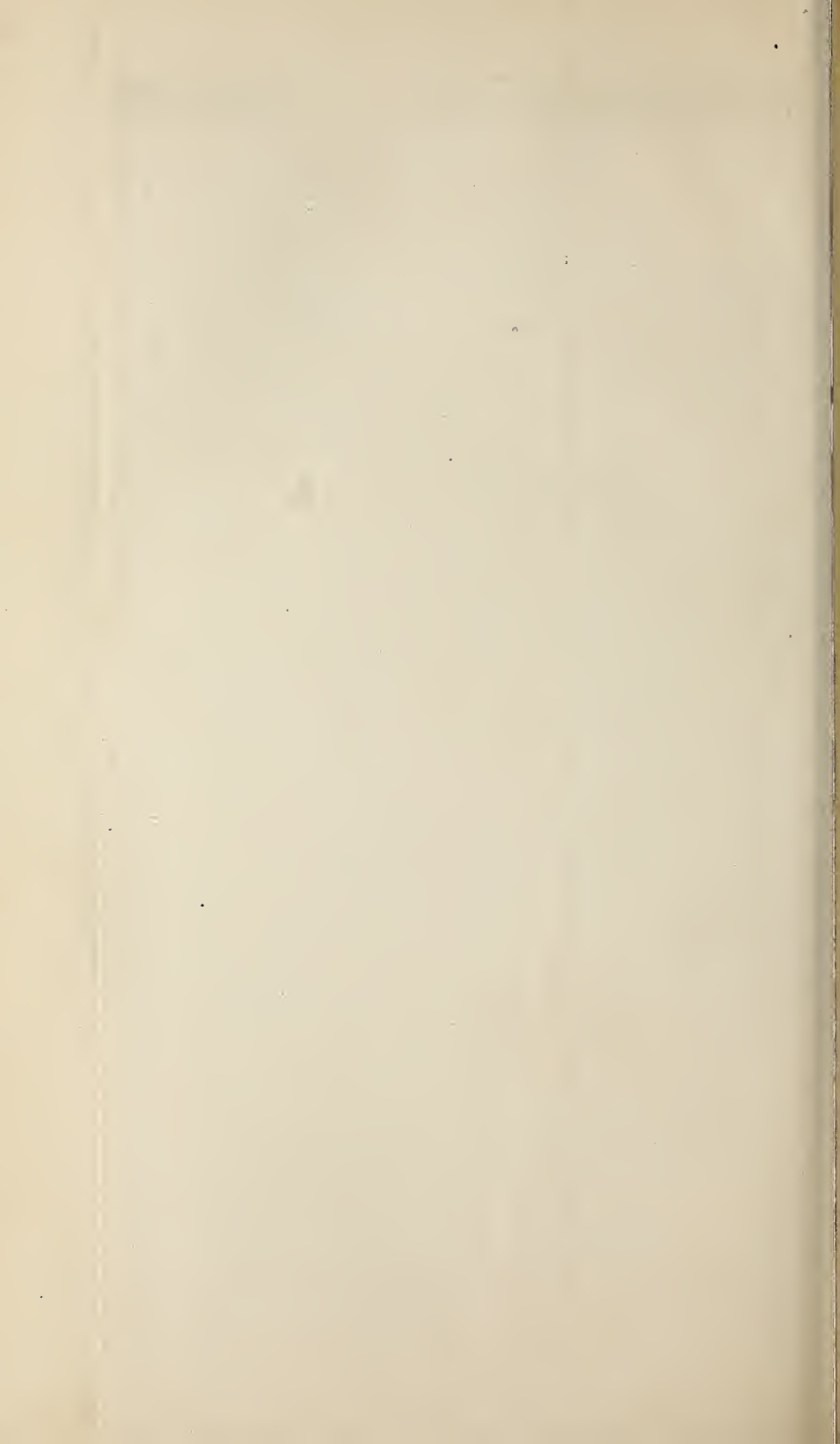
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the background being diapered with a faint scroll, bearing red cinquefoils.

From this pier opens a large pointed arch into the chancel, and on the dexter spandril of this arch stands painted the whole-length figure of a king, royally vested and crowned, holding in his left hand a sceptre, his right hand and arm being extended towards an opposite figure of a pilgrim.¹

The figure of the pilgrim,² on the sinister spandril of the arch, is of smaller dimensions than that of the king. He is bearded; his arms and legs uncovered, but his body clothed in a garment formed of sheepskins, the tufts of wool being shown upon it. He carries in his left hand, or is, rather, supported by his palmer's staff or bourdon, to which is attached, by a strap, a branch of the Holy Palm. His head-covering, a large hat, hangs, by a cord passing across his chest, at his back. His scrip is towards the front of his figure, strapped together, and the straps passing over his shoulders. His right hand and arm are extended to their full length, towards the opposite figure of the king, either in invocation or to receive the gift that the monarch might have held towards him. This figure appears to be climbing over rough and difficult ground, while the king stands on a solid base, which may be supposed to represent the platform of his throne.

The general background of these two figures is divided by double red lines into regular courses and blocks, and in the centre of each block is painted a red flower of five leaves, the centres pierced. Above the whole, a little below the oak ceiling of the aisle, is painted, on a red ground, a bold and flowing branch of fig-tree and its

¹ Unfortunately, a defect of the wall, repaired by modern plastering, prevents our knowing whether this hand towards the pilgrim did not hold some gift; perhaps a crown, the "POLI SERTUM" alluded to in the scroll.

² This figure of the pilgrim was not discovered until 1857.

leaves, generally in a perfect state, and forming a graceful termination to the painting on the wall.

To return to the inscription on the scroll held by the kneeling figure of the Judge. Although even at its first discovery it was not perfectly clear, and that at the latter end of both lines some letters were obliterated, it appears to have been thus:

✠ . FERRE : POLI : SERTVM : FAC : REX : EDMVNDE : ROBERTVM :¹
DOD : FAVERSHAMIE : QVEM : REGE : THOMA : PIE :²

and may be interpreted thus: "O King Edmund, cause Robert Dod, of Faversham, to bear the crown of Heaven, whom, O pious Thomas, do thou guide."

The exact meaning of this inscription, and the cause of such an invocation in favour of Robert Dod, appears at present extremely doubtful. Robert Dod himself is not to be found in the list of those who were judges, nor was he even a mayor of Faversham, as the records of that borough evidence. Whom then does the kneeling figure represent? The daughter and heiress of Robert Dod,³ of Faversham, was married to Richard de Faversham, whose father, Thomas de Faversham, was a judge, and Lord of Graveney. It is a mere supposition, but this Robert Dod might, by some act or grant, have benefited those pilgrims who, on their way to the great shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury, halted at Faversham, to pay their devotions at the altar dedicated to him in the church of Faversham, close to which this memorial of their benefactor was placed; or that he had himself performed some more than ordinary pil-

¹ The last letter, supposed to have been *m*, was not visible.

² The five last letters, *MA : PIE*, have been supplied to complete the pentameter.

³ The family of Dod, spelt variously, is frequently mentioned in the histories of Kent. A monument and its inscription is still remaining in Graveney church, to the memory of this Robert Dod, there called Dodde, and to his son-in-law Richard de Faversham.

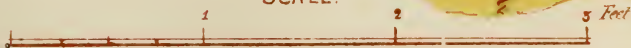


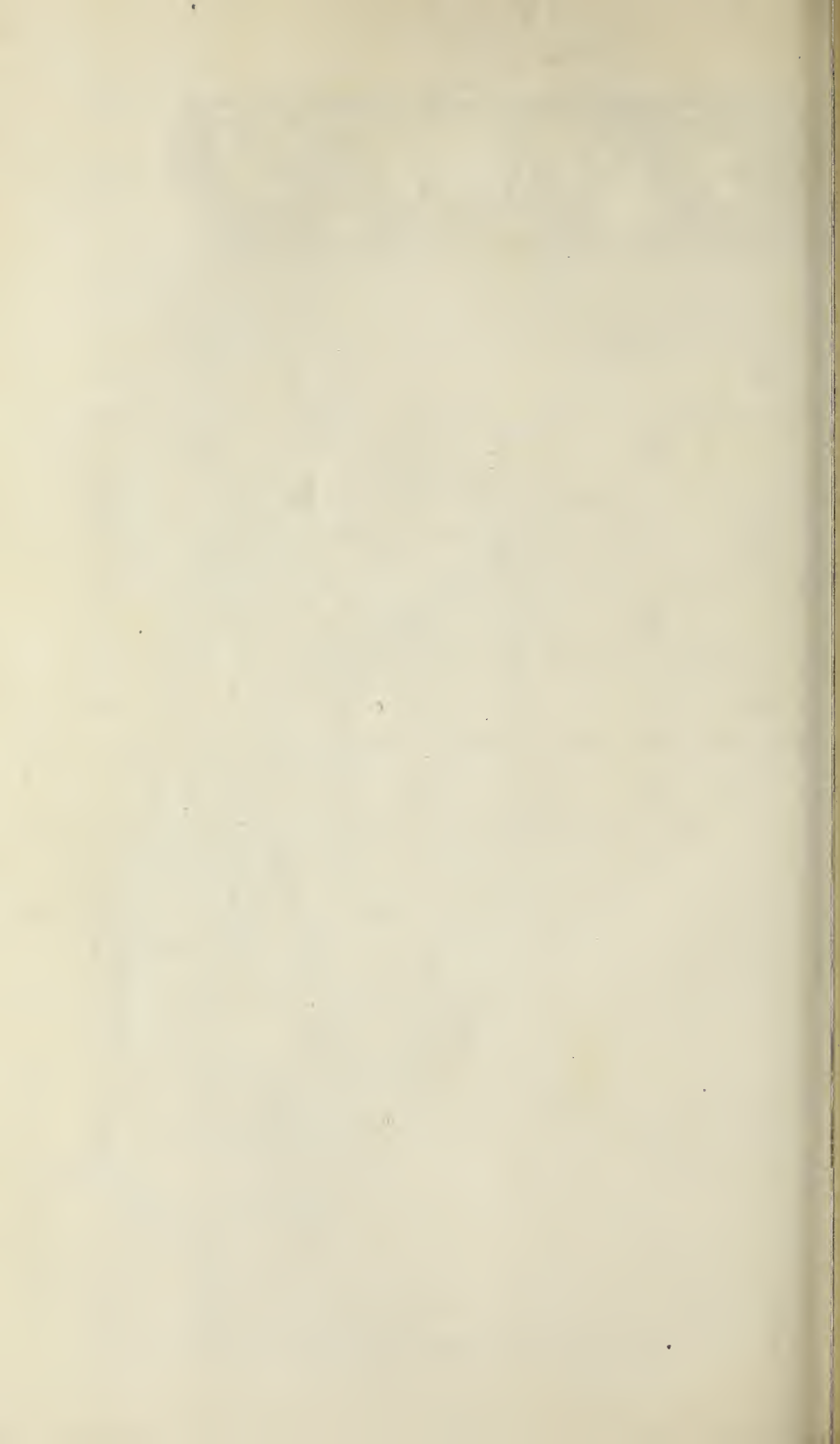
FAVERSHAM CHURCH

WALL PAINTING.

*Figure of the Pilgrim on the West
Span of the Arch.*

SCALE.





grimage himself; and that the kneeling figure of the judge represented his relative 'Thomas de Faversham,'¹ who had survived him, and addresses this invocation to the peculiar saints worshipped in this Chapel,² in token of Robert Dod's good works. The style of the architectural canopy is evidently of the fourteenth century, and coeval with these persons.

¹ Weever tells us that in his time there remained, in one of the windows of Graveney church, the arms of Faversham, underwritten "Tho . . . Faversham Justiciar. et Johna ux. ej."

² That part of the church where the painting remains, is known to have contained the chapel of St. Thomas-à-Becket. In an inventory of goods and ornaments of the parish church of Faversham, 4 Hen. VIII., it is stated that "In Saynt Thomas Chapelle" there were "Imprimis a Chesebyll of purple damask, with the apparell for the Preest. Item, a clothe of arras with gold, for Saynt Thomas's auter, of the same. Item, two greene curtayns of sarsenett, for the same awter, fringed at the ends. Item, a steyned clothe, with a pictor of Saynt Thomas."

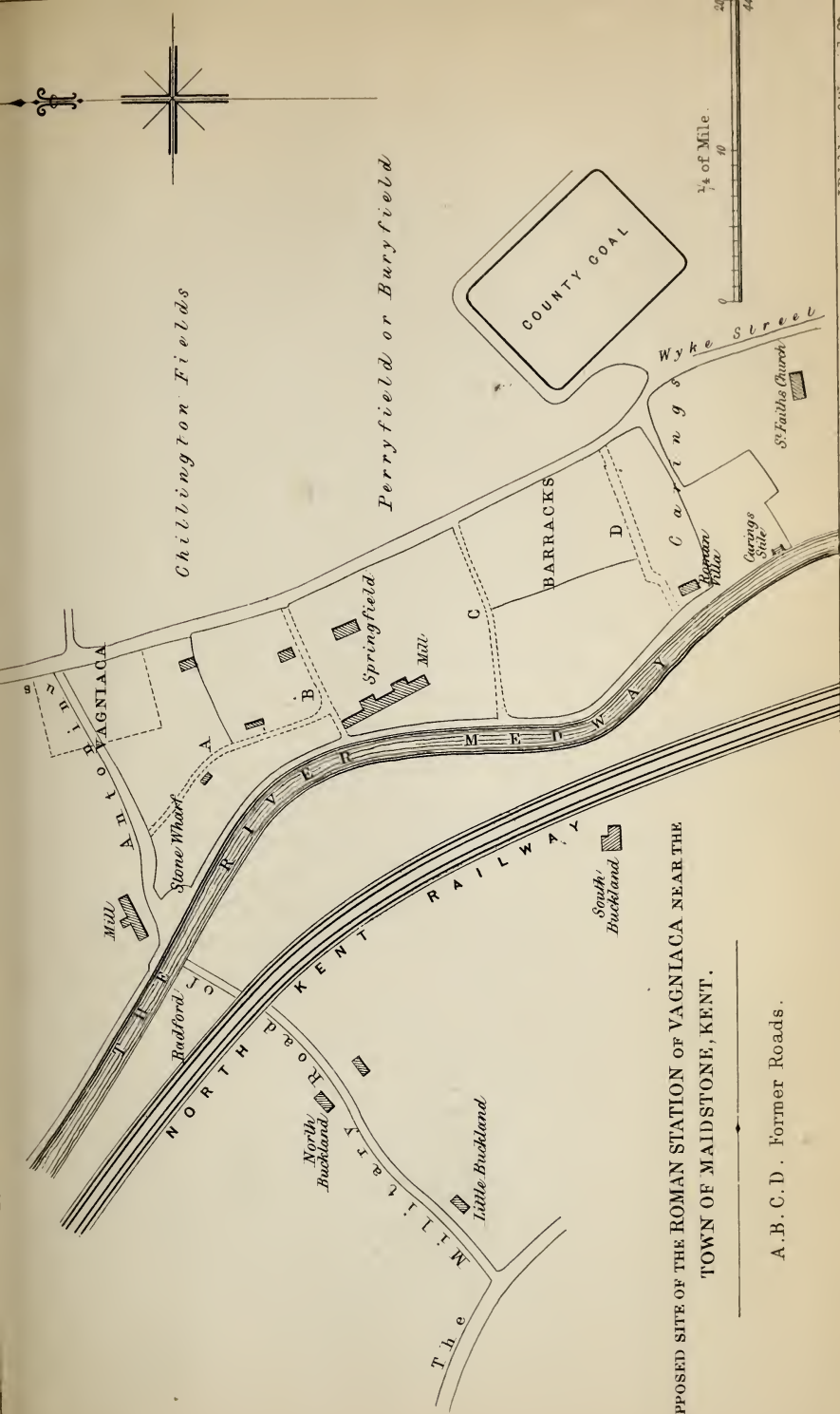
The connection of St. Thomas and St. Edmund in this chapel, is shown by a bequest of Robert Fale, of Faversham, in 1529, viz. "To the light of St. Edmund in S. Thomas chapel, one Cowe."

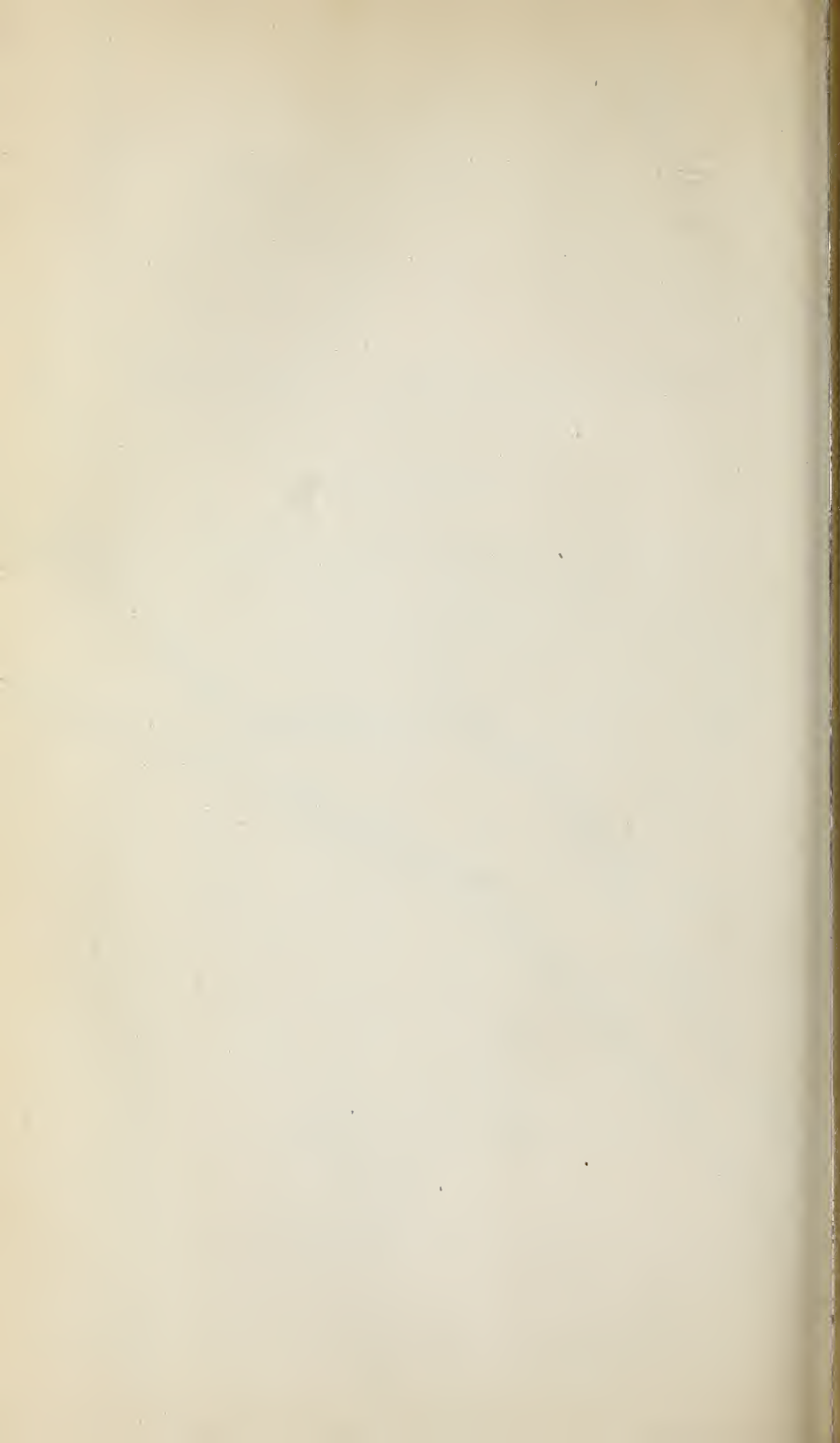
OBSERVATIONS ON THE SUPPOSED SITE OF ANCIENT ROMAN MAIDSTONE.

BY BEALE POSTL.

MANY who read these pages will be doubtless aware that in fixing a determinate site for the Roman military station Vagniacæ, I am assuming to do that which has never been attempted to be done by the old antiquaries, as Camden, Gale, Burton, Leland, or Lambarde; or by the moderns, as Gibson, Gough, Reynolds, Hasted, Thorpe, or Hatcher, or even been supposed by Newton himself, the learned historian of the place. This undoubtedly is so; for though a fair proportion of those eminent persons in the antiquarian department of literature may have thought generally that the Roman station was at Maidstone, yet none of them have advanced so far as to point out in what quarter of the present town the precise spot was situated. I must proceed therefore with some degree of caution on this hitherto untrodden ground: and as my reasoning on the subject will be purely inductive, it will be the most convenient way for me to arrange what I shall say under distinct heads or paragraphs, which I shall accordingly do as follows:—

1. First, I must duly notify that the fact of its being in or about Maidstone at all, is derived from the ‘Itinerary of Antoninus,’ that ancient ‘Guide des Voyageurs,’ or ‘Handbook for Travellers,’ in the time of the Romans. It is said in it, that from Vagniacæ to Duro-





brivæ, or Rochester, is nine miles, that is, about eight English ones; and I conclude, in unison with various authorities on this behalf, that from the general bearing and direction of the places mentioned in the ‘Itinerary,’ there is very sufficient reason for supposing that the ancient Vagniacæ was either in this town or in its vicinity. This point, however, I must assume, as the discussion of it would take me away from my present purpose, and might besides run into some length, both of which things are undesirable. Assuming this then, as I have said, I observe that the Roman road coming from London by Keston (Noviomagus), Oldbury Camp, and Wrotham Heath, crossed the river Medway near Maidstone, about half a mile below the present town, and rather more than a quarter of a mile below the barracks.

2. The part of the river where it crosses is called “Radford,” which name shows that some thoroughfare of importance formerly existed at this said passage of the river; for Radford is *Road-ford*. The name of the reach of the river across which the ancient transit was made, indicates the same thing. In the *Corporation Books* of Maidstone, of the date of Queen Elizabeth, it is called “the Throt Reach;” in relation to which we may observe that there is no narrowness of the river at this point to make us suppose “Throat Reach,” in the sense of a narrow passage of its channel, was meant. So this appellation seems to be the same as the Anglo-Saxon *trod*, a path or track, and to denote the reach where the crossing was; which it is very natural to suppose had become in their times of less importance. The reach of the river at this part still retains its Elizabethan name: and a wharf on the east side of the river, at the point of crossing, belonging to the Earl of Aylesford, is known by the designation of the “Thrott Wharf.” It is certain that the river at Radford is not now a ford, being deep water; but as it was anciently named a ford,

we may disregard this, and conclude that it has been either deepened by art, under the Lower Medway Navigation Act, or that the bottom of the river at this part may have been acted upon by the current. There is thus a good and fair argument that the name of the "Road-Reach" was given to a particular part of the Medway by way of distinction, to show where the once important Roman military road passed this river.

3. It perhaps should be mentioned, in reference to the Roman road coming from Wrotham Heath to Radford, that a quarter of a mile before it reaches the river, it passes the foundations of an apparently extensive Roman villa, which was placed on a species of terrace to the right. These foundations are in a cherry-orchard, on the farm of Little Buckland, the property of Mrs. Seabrook. The neighbouring cottagers report that they formed a great obstruction when the orchard was planted, —now about twenty-three years since. Roman coins are stated to be found in the vicinity. It may also be noted, that about three-quarters of a mile north-by-west from the ancient Radford ford, towards Allington, foundations of another Roman villa were removed in 1844 (see the 'Journal of the British Archæological Association,' for 1847, vol. ii. p. 88). To continue however with the road on the north side of the river.

4. When the road has crossed at Radford, it ascends the gradually rising ground for three or four hundred yards, and having reached a species of plateau, or level, it joins nearly at right-angles the ancient Roman road, proceeding in one direction to Rochester, (the Durobrivæ of Roman times), and in the contrary direction communicating with the Weald of Kent. The said Durobrivæ, it may here be remarked, was also a Roman station, and one of the more important class.

5. I venture to place Vagniacæ at the junction of the two roads of which I have just spoken. I cannot assign

its precise dimensions, but were it entrenched, we may suppose, for the sake of entertaining a definite idea on the subject, that it comprised some three or four acres. However, were it a Roman station of the smaller kind,—one of those which were styled not so much a “statio,” as a “mutatio,” or “mansio,”—it need not in that case have been necessarily entrenched; nevertheless the greater probability is that it was: but be this as it may, and considering the Roman station as the head-quarters, I conclude that the Roman town or settlement connected with it lay still further to the right,—that is, to the south-east,—and extended along the somewhat high ridge, parallel with the river, towards the present town, to the distance of more than a quarter of a mile in that direction.

6. There are no reliable appearances of embankments at the spot now assigned for the station, though there are certainly some inequalities of the ground behind the dwelling-house, the property of Dr. Lowdell, M.D., which at present forms the last building in Maidstone parish in this direction. All confidence, however, in any supposed configuration of the surface, is lost, from the following cause.

7. The ridge I have spoken of, extending parallel with the river, has every appearance of having been the spot from which stone was procured, in the Middle Ages, for the public buildings in Maidstone, and as having formed the supply whence St. Faith's church, that of All Saints, as also the building of the Fraternity of Corpus Christi, the palace, Newark, the bridge, and, it might be, other buildings, were constructed. Excavations and hollows, made formerly for quarrying purposes, meet the eye in every direction. The archbishops had evidently chosen the other end of Maidstone for embellishment, and seem to have found their materials here; and with the disturbing the surface and ransacking the

earth for its stony treasures, the traces of Roman buildings would of course vanish, and render the site of the ancient town impossible to be identified. As far as we know, all traces of Roman occupation must have been removed anterior to the time of Leland and Camden, and much more of course before the date of Newton the historian of the place, and the later antiquaries. We have record evidence, the best perhaps that can be adduced, that the quarries at this spot were in full activity in the fifth year of Henry V. (1418). In that year the following entry occurs in Rymer's 'Fœdera,' as quoted by Brayley in his 'Delineations of Kent,' p. 1278, being an order from the Crown for stone cannon-balls, addressed to John Louth and John Bennet, masons at Maidstone:—"Septem millia lapidum pro gunnis de diversis sortibus, unâ cum sufficienti stuffurâ lapidum pro eisdem, tam infra quarreras de Madeston hithe, quàm alibi." That is, "Seven thousand stones for cannon of different kinds, and a sufficient supply of stones for them in the quarries at Maidstone Hythe, as well as elsewhere." Hythe Street, in Maidstone, was the ancient name of that part of the town, on the east bank of the river, which is now called "Water-side." To this the said quarries would be contiguous, and hence all this large tract of excavations, to which the removal of ancient foundations and remains is attributable, appears to have received its name.

8. There being thus no foundations or other remains to which we might refer, our research must be continued from collateral indications. Proceeding then by this path, it may be observed that we have a considerable tract of land in this very angle and portion of Maidstone parish, designated in ancient deeds as "Perryfield." This is mentioned in the Crown Leases in the Augmentation Office (see Hasted's 'History of Kent,' vol. ii. p. 160, and compare also the 'Ministers' Accounts' for

1543, as in Ellis's 'Dugdale's Monasticon,' vol. v. p. 462). It is stated, in the Crown Leases referred to by Hasted, as comprising forty acres, but there is little doubt that, according to the customary difference in these old measurements, it contained above sixty; and, in short, it is believed that a great part of the whole north-western angle of this part of the parish abutting to Boxley, north-east of the Rochester road, was in it; and possibly it might have extended to the south-west of the same. In any case, it lay contiguous to our station of Vagniacæ. Now in Kent, as indeed in other parts of the kingdom, Perryfield is identical with Buryfield, and means a place where is, or has been, an old fortification. Thus, among numerous other instances, there is an ancient earthwork in Perry-wood, in the parish of Selling, near Faversham, and it seems to be understood as a matter of course that our Perryfield should more properly be Buryfield, from the Anglo-Saxon *byrig*, an entrenched place, and that it implies the vicinity of a fortification. But what fortification? None was ever known to exist in that quarter of the parish; and what other explanation of the fact can there be, except that the appellation arose from our lost Roman fortified station, described in our former page as situated at the junction of the three roads, and which we may believe to have yielded to the vigorous quarrying efforts made by the archbishops for the embellishment of the town in the Middle Ages?

9. Having thus shown the probable spot of the Roman station Vagniacæ, I now proceed to offer an observation or two on the supposed site of such town or village as the Romans may be thought to have had at ancient Maidstone. I place this, the reader will recollect, together with the station, on the ridge before mentioned, but extending towards the present town to the south-east, and in fact abutting on the Government property now occupied as barracks in that direction. The whole space

thus assigned to the station and to the first rudiments of the town, taking the present high-road to Rochester for a boundary on one side, and the river for a boundary to the other, includes an area of ground averaging about 616 yards in length, by 264 in breadth, and comprising in superficial measure, according to Mr. Brown's Survey of the Parish, in 1822, 34*a.* 0*r.* 35*p.*; the whole of which, except Dr. Lowdell's house, garden, and field, is the property of Messrs. Balston, and is called the Springfield Estate and Paper-mill, and on it stands the handsome mansion of the proprietors. Here then apparently was the original Roman settlement, which there is no reason to suppose was one which was formed on a large scale, but only to have been sufficient for the casual contingencies of ancient travelling and of the transit of troops. No one, indeed, entertains the opinion, however flourishing the place may now be, that there was ever a Roman town of magnitude here. We freely admit that there was some germ in existence then, some nucleus of the future town, which has since been so much developed; and this forms a commencing-point for the portion of our subject now under consideration. It seems therefore much connected with our present inquiries, to show the progressive increase of the town and borough, from its small beginning at the original Roman "station," until it attained its present dimensions. In doing this, it must be understood that the archbishops, who were lords of the soil and had the chief sway and domination here from Saxon times, were the prime movers in all improvements in the place, down to the beginning of the fifteenth century; and having premised this, my ensuing remarks, or a portion of them, will have somewhat of a chronological scope in tracing these matters downwards.

10. The ancient local divisions of the parish which are still retained, have a bearing on the progressive in-

crease of the town through various ages. These divisions are called "boroughs," and, if we understand rightly, are as old as the time of Alfred; having been connected, as we may conclude, with his distributing various districts into communities, the members of which entered into a pledge among themselves to keep the peace, and to prevent the laws from being broken; and, indeed, hence the legal manorial form, styled "View of Frankpledge," which is still observed, is derived. The four of these ancient divisions into which the parish of Maidstone is apportioned, are as follows, viz. the borough of Wyke, the borough of Maidstone, the borough of Stone, and the borough of Westree. It is singular in these, that we have the borough of Wyke mentioned as distinct from the borough of Maidstone. However, the earliest reference to them I can find is in the Manor Book of Maidstone parish for the years 1510 and 1511, No. 1025, in the Lambeth Library; in the latter of which years we have Wyke, Maidstone, and Stone mentioned, but from some cause Westree is omitted, which is not material. We have then this fact, that this part of the parish was in Alfred's time called the "Wyke," to obtain which name there must have been an ancient "vicus," that is, village or town, of the Romans at the spot; for it is not to be believed that the Saxons ever gave the name, except in reference to the Latin term *vicus*, before existing at the place.

11. The name of the street, "Week Street," extending from this quarter (I mean, from the assigned spot of the station), nearly a mile to the south-east, is also in point. This street, in its course to the south-east, gave name to the Manor of Wyke, which is somewhat remote from the supposed site of our Roman station; and if the said Manor Rental of 1511, to which I have just referred, be understood rightly, was not in the borough of Wyke: as will be further shown presently. In the

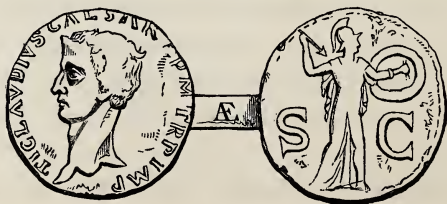
meantime it may be observed that there is a similar case in another of the minor manors of Maidstone, that of the "Manor of East Lane," which takes its name from the street in which it happens to be situated. The fact of this Manor of Wyke not being in the Borough of Wyke is so far material, as it does not interfere with the location which has been here otherwise assigned to the Roman "station" and "vicus," or first settlement, at Maidstone; and here therefore is a point much connected with our subject. As to what is known of it: it was, then, a manorial estate in Maidstone parish, held under the archbishops as a portion of the principal manor which they possessed in the place. A somewhat high and strongly-built wall still remaining in Union Street, in the lower part of it, and near where it makes its junction with Week Street, is believed to have been the garden-wall of the manor-house. It is just above the hardware-shop of Mr. Gilbert, and another house occupied also as a shop at the corner of the street. The Mansion House itself, the property of John C. Stephens, Esq., still stands in Week Street, but is divided into two or three dwelling-houses, and its ancient character has been entirely removed by modern frontages. The Fishers, a family well known in Maidstone, held the estate at least for a hundred years, and it is not accurately known how much longer. Their name appears in the manor survey of 1511, before referred to, as then holding it; where the lands of William Fisher are charged with the manorial rent of 46s. and 2*d.*, as under the division of Wyke Street, and not as in the borough of Wyke—which is the entry affording the proof to which allusion has before been made. It so happens that among the manuscripts of the British Museum, No. 2192-4 of the Harleian Collection, an ancient *rental* is preserved, not dated, but apparently of about the time of Elizabeth, bearing the title of 'A Survey

of the Manor of Wyke.' By this, as far as the various fields can be identified, they seem to have extended northward, commencing in a line with the present Union Street, and comprised 245*a.* 2*r.* 31*p.* A considerable portion of the lands has been purchased of late years by Alexander Randall, Esq., who has an elegant mansion on the property, in which he resides. The Fisher family ultimately conveyed the estate to the Company of Merchant Tailors, in the year 1617.

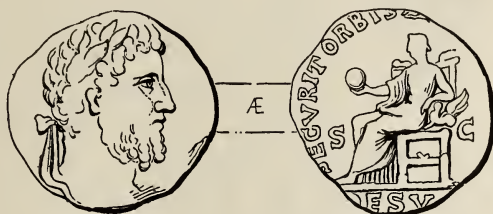
12. I may add also another feature to these remarks on the site of our supposed Roman station and settlement, or Roman station and "vicus," as we may now call it, that various ancient roads appear to converge to it; and not so much to the present town of Maidstone, as it now lies situated more to the south-east. For instance, one remarkable one coming over the Boxley range of hills near the farm called Boarley; much scooped out of the side of the hill, and therefore very conspicuous. There is likewise another instance in the old Sittingbourne road, which formerly pointed hitherward; though now it is much altered at the Maidstone end. An ancient carriage-road likewise communicated direct with the spot I have assigned for the Roman station, from Boxley, coming partially through Mr. Lushington's lands. This gives a third instance of ancient roads converging to this centre. It joined it pretty much in a straight line with the road crossing the Medway at Radford, and coming up from the Thrott Wharf, as mentioned in the former part of these remarks. This said ancient road is marked on the older maps of the Earl of Aylesford's estates, but is now completely discontinued; having been stopped up thirty or forty years ago, by the former Earl, at one end, and by Sir Henry Calder, Bart., a former possessor of Park House, at the other.

13. In regard to evidence from Roman and Anglo-

Saxon remains, though somewhat of a negative character, it is on the whole favourable in its results to the views which have been advanced in the foregoing pages. No Roman foundations have been discovered within the limits of the present town, though we have indeed one instance, at the end which lies somewhat contiguous to the spot assigned to the Roman station and "vicus," of which mention will be made presently more particularly. Indeed, it has almost passed into a matter of course to consider that when deep sewers are dug in the streets, or other excavations made, none will be met with. It is probable then, as the whole tract was known to have been comprised anciently within the limits of the Weald of Kent, that in the time of the Romans much of the actual site of the town was a deep and secluded part of the forest, too densely covered with wood and thickets to supply proper localities for Roman villas. The other objects which are found are chiefly urns and coins. Very many years ago some of the former were found in digging the foundation of a warehouse in, the angle between Earl Street and Pudding Lane, north of the latter. (See Newton's 'History of Maidstone,' p. 6.) A small urn or two were likewise found about eight years since, while excavating for a building in St. Faith's Street, opposite to the top of what was the former Green. Likewise, about twenty years before the said period, a few small urns, like the former ones of a black colour, and now deposited in the Charles Museum, were found in digging foundations four or five houses higher up the street on the same side. Of coins, a second brass of



Claudius was found in the sewerage-cutting at the top of King's Street, about the year 1851. On the obverse it has the head of the emperor looking to the left, with the inscription, TI. CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. TRP. IMP., and on the reverse, Minerva to the right, poising a spear; inscription in the field, s. c. A first brass of Commodus was found, as said, four feet from the surface in All Saints' churchyard in 1844, and is engraved in the 'History of the College of Maidstone,' p. 137, as also



here represented. A rather well preserved denarius of the Emperor Trajan is similarly said to have been found in the bed of the river Lenn, about twenty-five years ago. The two last form part of the late Mr. Charles's Museum, now belonging to the town of Maidstone. A third brass of Constans, with the delineation of the Labarum, was found at the top of Stone Street, on the left-hand, on what was formerly called "Sayer's Land." A Roman consular coin, of the family of Accoleia, was found in the present year in one of the gardens of Medway Street, inscribed with the legend, P. ACCOLEIVS LARISCOLVS. Likewise about the same time a denarius of the Emperor Julian was found in or about Maidstone, inscribed on the obverse, FL. CL. IVLIANVS PP. AVG.; on the reverse, VICTORIA. DD. NN. AVG.; and in the exergue, LVG. The coin is in very good preservation. Of other objects, a statuette of Mercury was found thirty years since in Mr. Lamprey's grounds, on the Boxley road, about a quarter of a mile out of Maidstone, now in pos-

session of Captain Skinner, R.M., his nephew. Likewise another bronze statuette of Sylvanus, as delineated in the margin, was dug up about the year 1820, in the borough of Westree, Maidstone, across the bridge. It was formerly in possession of Mr. Lamprey,



and now of Captain Skinner, as the preceding, and is only two inches in height. Also in the year 1823 various sepulchral antiquities, apparently chiefly Anglo-Saxon, were discovered in Wheeler Street, in excavating for laying the foundations of the Lancastrian School. These few dispersed re-

lics show no sufficient indications of either a Roman station or town where the present town of Maidstone stands. They are scarcely more than might be expected from digging to the same extent in the New Forest, or in that of Epping. While in the direction of that part now out of the present town, or on the skirts of it, which I have suggested as a far more favourable sphere of inquiry, we have something much more relative. There are in this quarter the foundations of the large and substantial Roman villa or building partly excavated by the late Mr. Charles; which will be more fully described in a subsequent paragraph. In the meanwhile, more completely to show that the first Roman establishments were in that quarter and on that spot with which I have endeavoured to identify them, a few words on the gradual rise and extension of the town of Maidstone, from the said locality, may probably not be here irrelevant.

14. Whatever may have been the state of the site of the present town of Maidstone in Roman times, whether it were forest or under any species of cultivation, it is certain that a Roman road went through it, in its progress to the Weald of Kent. This road has been men-

tioned before (see the previous page 156), and it seems that after it went further on, it divided into two branches, at about a mile and three-quarters from the site of the present town, both of which terminated in about four miles in an ancient road, called the "Chartway," which went for some very considerable distance along the outskirts of the said district of the Weald. A road to the Weald, then, passed through the site of the present town; and besides that, as before mentioned, the military road of Antoninus, coming from London, by Keston, Wrotham Heath, etc., crossed here at Radford in its way to Durobrivæ, Judd Hill (*i. e.* Durolevum), and Canterbury. These are almost the only two facts now known of the earlier state of the town. It was, as is supposed, about the year 800, in the time of the Saxon kings, that the whole parish was transferred into the hands of the Archbishops of Canterbury, by some unknown donor, neither the original grant or instrument, nor any notification of its contents, being now extant among the records of Canterbury cathedral, or elsewhere: but what is our argument from this? Why, it may be inferred that if the lands granted by the donation were so large in extent as they undoubtedly were, that they must have been deficient in population and comparatively uncultivated. There having been originally a Roman station here, and contiguous to it a Roman settlement, or "vicus," it would seem that dwellings became gradually constructed under the archbishops, on the line of Roman road, which was the more promoted by its being a thoroughfare, as has just been said, from the Weald of Kent; but so gradual was the progress of this now important town, that it can scarce be found mentioned in our national records till the thirteenth century. In that century, in the year 1261, Archbishop Boniface, the founder of the Hospital of Newark, which is situated across the river, on the former London road, obtained the grant of a market at

Petrisfield (see the 'History of the College of Maidstone,' p. 109), which if it occupied the spot where the present High Street of Maidstone now stands, the former known and accustomed place of market, it must have been an expedient to draw population towards his new foundation, as also towards the dwelling of the archbishops. They, since the reign of King John, had resided in the house that had belonged to William de Cornehill (see Philipot's 'Villare Cantianum,' p. 228), which had been granted to the See of Canterbury; the same having been re-edified by them, and having acquired the name of a palace. In 1272, being the first of Edward I., the Church of St. Faith was completed, as appeared by an inscription on one of the pillars so read. It stood about a hundred yards due west of Week Street, and is believed to have been the prolongation of a former building, built about forty years previously. In 1422, as appears by the deed of endowment still in existence, the Brotherhood Hall was founded by John Hyssenden, otherwise called Nayler, an inhabitant of Maidstone, at the bottom of Earl's Street, near the river; and thus the fraternity, called the "Fraternity of Corpus Christi," was established. This was no other than an early rudiment of the Maidstone corporation; for the elders of the town were the principal members of this religious foundation, and this building was the quasi-'Town Hall' of their day. Here observe, that as in London the magistracy has from the first continued to be in that part where was the ancient Roman city, so in the case of this our county-town of Kent, the seat of municipal government still lingered towards that quarter in which the place had first sprung up; and it seems to have done so for more than a century and a half afterwards. There was at this time a chapel, named St. John's chapel, just over the bridge of the Lenn,¹ and

¹ The site of St. John's chapel is sufficiently known, from being men-

a church, named St. Mary's church, standing near to the archbishop's palace, to the south. This must have been subordinate to the church of St. Faith, which has been removed in the present year (1858), and which was situated towards the ancient site of the station and "vicus" before described, though without their limits, and which doubtless was the church of the place mentioned in the Domesday survey of William the Conqueror. Nearer still to the station and "vicus" was the chapel of St. Anne, which, according to 'Inrolments' in the Augmentation Office (cited by Hasted in his 'History of Kent,' vol. ii., folio edition, p. 106), adjoined Perryfield, and might have been in close proximity to the "vicus;" but its exact site is not precisely known.¹ Archbishop Courtney, however, completed the plan which appears to have been entertained by his predecessors, of forming the town in its present site, by founding and building a college, and a new and magnificent church in this quarter, dedicated to All Saints. Both these works seem to have been completed shortly after his death, in or about the year 1400. There is also great probability that he formed some of the buildings in the High Street, as Leland, in his 'Itinerary,' vol. vi.

tioned in several ancient documents. It was on the north bank of the Lenn, and on the east side of Stone Street, being about eighty yards from the present bridge called the Little Bridge. It had a field of two acres attached to it, called the "Chapel Croft," and the whole site now belongs to John Brenchley, Esq. Some remains of foundations and of earthenware water conduit-pipes were mentioned by Mr. Brenchley as having been formerly met with between the street and the Chapel Croft. It is probable from this, that water was formerly conveyed in this direction from the spring near the end of the Mote road, at Wren's Cross.

¹ How the two chapels of St. John and St. Anne originated, does not appear. The latter was situated, it seems, contiguous to lands held by Boxley Abbey in Maidstone parish, and might have been connected with that conventual establishment. The former might not improbably have been maintained by the archbishop. There is no indication that either of them had been abolished at the dissolution of the monasteries, nor is it known when they were discontinued.

p. 2, says that, "besides at the palace" (and college and church he might have added), "Courtney builded much in Maidstone." The High Street is believed to have been in existence as a street in the days of Courtney, as the Swan Inn, now added to the premises of Mr. Warwick, and occupied by Messrs. Paine, Evenden, and Lewis, is mentioned in a deed of a date not long subsequent to his time. Nevertheless, though there was this progression, the principal houses and dwellings for long afterwards seem to have been in the two original streets, those of Wyke and Stone Street; for Leland, the eminent antiquary, travelling through the town in 1525, describes it, in a continuation of the passage before referred to, as "one long street, full of inns." He did not, then, find the High Street important enough to be mentioned: it possibly was not more than a mere market-field. This now handsome street, the High Street, might then have been, and probably was, like the ancient Smithfield in London, now abolished, encumbered with cattle-stalls and sheep-pens. Add to this, the main thoroughfare to London passed at that time by Rochester, so that the road over the bridge was not at that period much frequented. The bridge itself powerfully bears testimony to this, and shows the progressive increase of traffic in this quarter, since, when viewed from underneath, the original structure hardly seems to have been of more importance than might have been expected to have been met with in some small country village over a river. It plainly appears that it was at first only constructed for the passage of one vehicle at a time. Afterwards, anciently, but still at some unknown date, it was widened for two carriages to pass each other; while subsequently again, in the year 1808, eight feet of breadth were added to it, which dilated it to its present dimensions.

15. I have now to revert to the large Roman build-

ing, or villa, discovered not far from the limits of our supposed Roman first settlement in these parts, and marked on the map. The spot is called "the Mount," in an old deed, and stands on a prominence or rising of the ground, some twenty-five feet above the present level of the river, which, as the bed of the river itself is known to have been raised about twenty feet since Roman times, was of course once considerably more elevated than it is now. The discovery of the villa was recorded in the 'Journal of the British Archæological Association,' vol. ii. for 1847, pp. 86, 87, 88, and a plan added. The part excavated by Mr. Charles measured, the front forty-two feet, and the side, including the part visible beyond the modern wall, about eighty-six feet. It may be therefore concluded that the whole front would have extended to about one hundred and twenty feet, at least. There were no signs of hypocausts, *i. e.* of the furnaces used by the Romans for heating apartments, or of any other apparatus for that purpose. The inference thus is, that this part was merely used as inferior offices, and that the parts not excavated contained the rooms of an ornamental description: and it is noticeable that a fountain of beautifully clear water rising just above, at the front door of an ornamental cottage standing on the barrack property, built some twenty or thirty years ago by Lieutenant-Colonel, afterwards Brigadier-General, Skene, had undoubtedly formerly its exit through this unexcavated part of the villa, where it may be concluded it formed the impluvium. The walls were not above the usual thickness of those of Roman villas, being, the majority of them, about two feet, though one of the intermediate walls was nearly two feet six. But the most remarkable thing of the whole was the preposterous size and thickness of the buttresses, which some seemed inclined to think were not buttresses, but bases for pedestals of statues. Mr.

Pretty, the learned curator of the Charles Museum, Maidstone, has favoured me with the remark that there is an occasional occurrence of large edifices in Zucharelli's pictures of the scenery and buildings of Italy, where ancient structures are introduced, not strictly castles or fortresses, but constructed with large buttresses, of what might almost be termed extravagant dimensions, placed at intervals along the walls, and thus seeming distinct from the usual class of domestic residences. He therefore thought that there was thus a coincidence in this circumstance in the villa discovered at this spot, and considered that there was probably here a public building of some sort. Mr. Pretty's views are ostensibly correct, but the small part excavated does not allow us to assign its supposed use. A few implements of Roman workmanship were found, fragments of personal ornaments, etc. etc., and a copper coin of Gordianus III., who reigned from the year 238 to 244. I may add, that this building stood not on the tract of land called Perryfield, otherwise Buryfield, but on the adjoining piece, which anciently had the name of Carings, Charinge, or Charinges. It is mentioned in the 'Manor Survey' of 1511 as belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury; as also in Sir T. Wyatt's exchange with the king in 1540, where it is described as having been late the property of the abbot and convent of Boxley. It is mentioned also in a grant from the Crown to Sir Walter Hendley, where it is described as comprising sixteen acres, but without doubt was of very much greater extent. It had a yearly fair upon it according to the first deed, which is the more singular as showing that this quarter, now remote from the present town, had its own ancient fair. Its boundary towards Maidstone was a stile by the river's side, which appears to have stood about ninety or a hundred yards higher up the stream than our villa, and was called "Caring's

Stile," whence it is considered to have extended to the north-west, and to have included the barracks; but how much further it went is perhaps uncertain. The fair held here does not appear to have been the same as that which is still continued in the Fair Meadow; as the last-named field, the proper appellation of which is handed down as the "King's Mead," is understood to have been in the possession of the town in the reign of Edward IV., and consequently long before the dissolution of Boxley Abbey, or of the exchanges which took place between the Archbishop and the Crown. Caring's Stile, I may add, is often mentioned in the corporation books of some centuries back, where it is put as a species of antithesis to the College Lock, about half a mile higher up the river; between which limits strict rules were enacted for the preservation of the fish.

It will be seen by the preceding details, that Roman villas stood pretty thick together on this side of Maidstone: one here at the Mount; another at Little Buckland (see before, p. 156); another towards Allington (*ibid.*); to these may be added one more near Barming church, and a further one at a place called West Town, in East Farleigh: these were all in a space of ground not more than two miles square. Now it cannot but strike us that Roman villas being so frequent in this locality, must needs be an indication of the proximity of a Roman station; while at the same time the other side of Maidstone by no means supplies the same results, where there are none. Doubtless the reason might be, that where the villas are, as well as having the advantage of the ford of Radford, the country was more open; and that where the present town now is, and in that direction, the forests, thickets, and underwoods were closer and more embarrassing.

16. I have thus offered my views respecting the Roman station of Vagniacæ; the reader, however, must

remember that there was a second station of that name, a second Vagniacæ, at Aylesford; for in regard to the Roman military road which I have before described (see p. 155, *ante*) as coming from London by Keston, Oldbury Camp, and Wrotham Heath, it divided into two branches after having passed the heath some three or four miles; whereof one branch crossed the Medway at Radford, close by Maidstone, as I have endeavoured to set forth, the other passed over at Aylesford, and continued a separate course a mile or two from the river till it entered the Roman station at Rochester, near where the castle now stands. It will be observed that Antoninus, in his 'Itinerary,' has the name of our station "Vagniacæ," in the plural number, by which a double station might be understood, and that he does not express it "Vagniacæ," which would imply more particularly a single station. One manuscript copy of Antoninus has "From Vagniacæ to Durobrivæ VI (miles)," which probably is no mistake, but would be correct for the shorter distance which Aylesford is necessarily to Durobrivæ. There is every reason to form an opinion that the Romans crossed at Maidstone or Aylesford as the tide suited, or as the floods of the river allowed, for no Roman bridge at either place is ever supposed; fords only, as the ancient names show, viz. Aylesford and Radford. Numerous objects of antiquity, British and Roman, were found, in the year 1824, at the ford at Aylesford, on the shoal there; supposed to have been lost in ancient times by persons who passed through the river, and some of them are now in the Maidstone Museum; but Radford, near Maidstone, as before observed, has no ford there at present. I must now leave these pages to the favourable auspices of those who may read them. Whatever may be the merit or demerit, I alone am answerable for these views; but it perhaps may be as well that something definite should be set forth on the sub-

ject, and I suspect that the researches of others will rather tend to confirm my conclusions than otherwise. At any rate, I have endeavoured to place the subject of ancient Roman Maidstone on a tangible basis, and if my ideas on its features prove correct, it will afford an answer to the question which is no doubt occasionally asked among the inhabitants, of the whereabouts of the Roman station and original settlement at this now flourishing county-town.

I should not omit to add that the accompanying plan of the station Vagniacæ will show many details of its situation, and of that of some adjoining places which have been mentioned in these pages.¹

¹ A few lines may be perhaps usefully bestowed to show briefly the reasons for placing the station Vagniacæ at Maidstone: or, as said before, the portion of the double station so called, the name being in the plural number.

According to the Itinerary of Antoninus (Iter ii), Vagniacæ, under whatever form it may have been, whether divided or single, should be the first station from Durobrivæ on the road to London: and though it is conceded that there is a Roman road from Durobrivæ, or Rochester, through Southfleet, Dartford, Welling, and Deptford to London, yet it is believed, from the impediment of three formerly considerable estuaries or arms of the Thames which crossed this line of road, that the transit in this direction must have been somewhat difficult. There are certainly no recognized Roman bridges or embankments over them. It is therefore inferred from this circumstance that the usual main line of communication for the Roman legions with their baggage and encumbrances was from Durobrivæ, or Rochester, through Maidstone or Aylesford, as the tide might suit, and thence onwards through Oldbury camp and Keston to London. Agreeably to this idea the line by Southfleet and Deptford was only formed as a summer road, as some Roman roads are known to have been in Germany, for the transit and despatch of couriers and light troops in cases of emergency; who might have passed by means of boats. Thus Antoninus, in his Iters ii, iii, and iv, gives two distances respectively between London and Durobrivæ for the two lines of road, namely, xxvii miles for the summer road, that over the estuaries, which is correct, and xxxvii (xlii) for the other.

The above is very much corroborated, and indeed almost rendered impossible to be doubted, from the statement in Antoninus that the Roman military road passed through or by Noviomagus (Keston), which place the road by Southfleet, Dartford, Welling, and Deptford leaves far away, many miles over hill and dale, to the south.

NOTES OF BRASSES FORMERLY EXISTING IN
DOVER CASTLE, MAIDSTONE, AND ASHFORD
CHURCHES.

(FROM THE SURRENDEN COLLECTION.)

BY HERBERT L. SMITH, ESQ.

In the description of the Surrenden Collection of manuscripts given by the Honorary Secretary in the preceding pages, mention is made, at p. 51, of a volume of Church Notes made by Sir Edward Dering, the first baronet, in conjunction with Philipot, about the year 1630. I have the gratification of communicating to the pages of '*Archæologia Cantiana*' four specimens from this volume. The outlines here given are exact copies of the originals, and fair samples of the interesting nature of the whole collection. It is only to be regretted that these records do not extend beyond thirty-two parishes. Many of the monuments, however, here recorded, have either wholly passed away, or have suffered great mutilation since Sir Edward's trickings were originally made. A large number of the heraldic memorials no longer exist, and in one instance, viz. that of the ancient church in Dover Castle, nothing remains but roofless crumbling walls.

I have copied the Dover Brass in exact facsimile of the original, without that reduction in size which was found necessary to adapt the other three outlines for the pages of this work. Lyon, in his history of Dover Castle, gives a very rough and unsatisfactory sketch, more like that of an effigy than a brass, being without any of

the decorations, canopy, etc. In describing it he appears to copy Dering's remarks verbatim, and had probably seen our manuscript; for, in another place he refers to Records "in possession of a gentleman whose ancestors filled a high office in Dover Castle." From which we may gather that he had been allowed access to the Surrenden muniments. He also gives the result of researches made in 1776, when the gravestone was exhumed, and displayed the extent of its original ornamentation, by the number and variety of its chasings. This stone, he says, was erroneously described by Weaver as of marble, whereas it was of a coarse grit, full of marine petrifications. No doubt Weaver meant the favourite Bethersden marble, so extensively used in early periods in our county. So little regard was paid to these remains, that, although at a greater depth another large stone was found covering a slightly plastered grave, in which a few bones still remained, the soldiers were permitted to break up this venerable relic, and to use it for various purposes.

The drawing will show the original condition of this beautiful brass, and is, I believe, the only record of it, in its perfect state, now extant. This Sir Robert Astone was son of Sir Robert of Ashton-under-Line, and filled many honourable offices, such as Admiral of the Narrow Seas, Justice of Ireland, Treasurer of the Exchequer, and Chamberlain to Edward III., by whom he was also appointed to be an Executor of his Will. At the foot of the tracing of the brass, Dering notes thus:—"On a flatte gravestone, right before the high altar, this figure and inscription to Sr Robert Astone;" and below that, this note:—"The circumscription of the great bell heere, and weighing 3000lb. weight,—and which was the gift of that Sr Robert Astone,—hath every letter fayre and curiously cast, and each crowned with a ducal crown.—
'Dominus Robertus de Astone, miles, me fecit fieri, A.

quarto R. Ricardi sc̄di G.' Lower than this, in small letters, was cast—

“STEPNE NORTON OF KENT
ME MADE IN GOD INTENT.”¹

In Maidstone church, the large stone on which was the figure of Woodville, (though now lying level with the pavement,) in the days of Dering, covered an altar-tomb, and had then all its brasses complete. Not one of these now remains, but the form and number of the chasings sufficiently identify it as the one represented by Dering. The following pedigraic sketch,—for which I am indebted to T. W. King, Esq., York Herald,—is from Vincent's Collections in the College of Arms, B. 2. 253, and it enables us to identify the escutcheons as those of Richard Wydville, of the Mote, in Maidstone, viz. first and third shield, quarterly, first and fourth Wydville, second and third ? Gabyon; second shield, quarterly, first and fourth Bedlesgate, second and third Beauchamp; fourth shield, the first impaling the second.

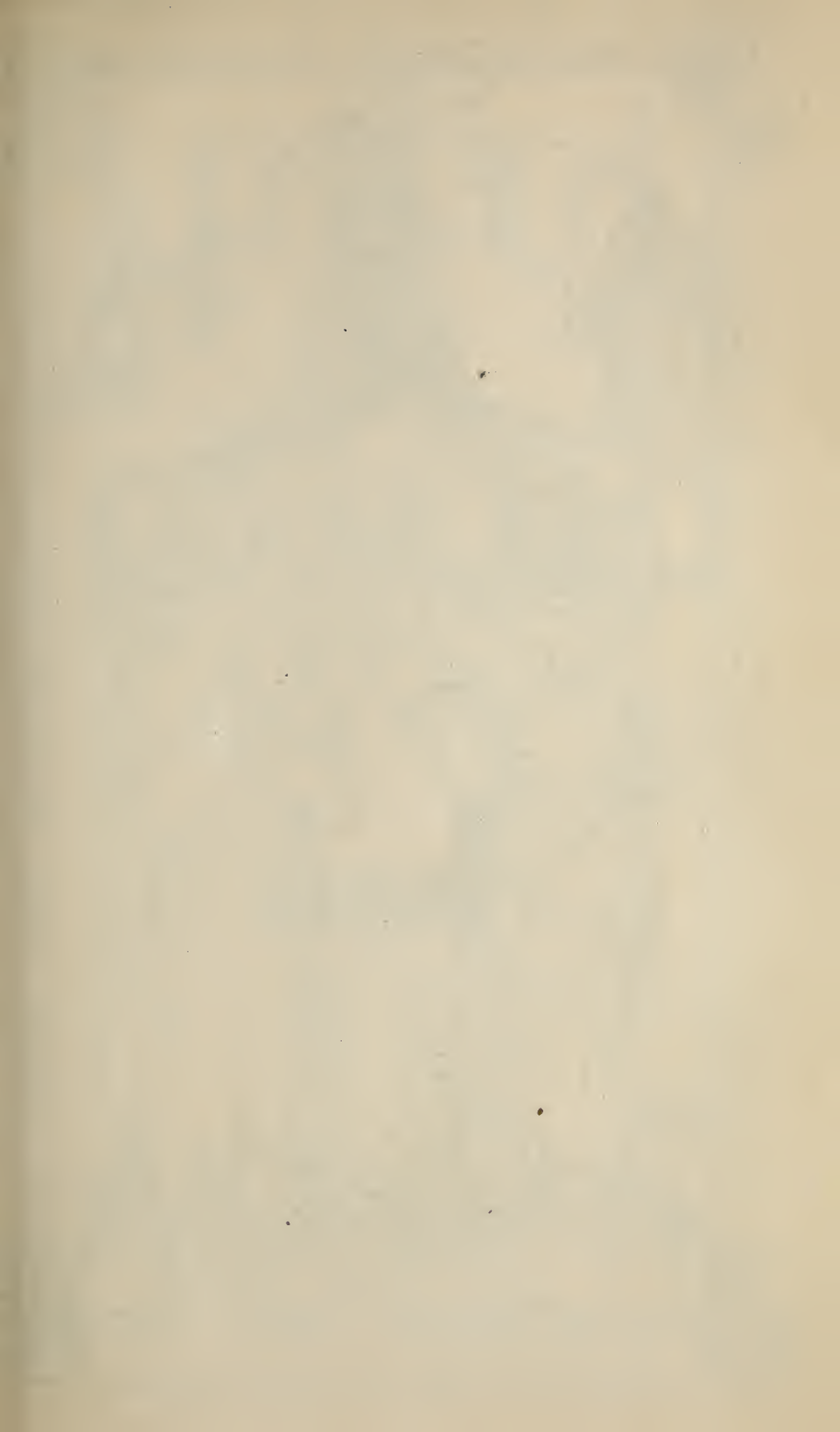
Richard Wydville, of Maydstone= and Grafton, son of Henry Wyd- ville by . . . daughter of . . . Gabyon als. Morena, of Tarlar, buried at Maydstone.	Elizabeth, or Mary, daughter and heiress of John Bedlisgate, by . . . daughter of William Beau- champ, of Wellington, Co. Somers- et.
---	---

Sir Richard Wydville, K.G., created= Earl Rivers, 24 May, 6 Edw. IV., and ob. 9 Edw. IV.	Jaquetta, daughter of Peter de Lux- inburgh, Count St. Paul, and re- lict of John Plantagenet, Duke of Bedford.
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Sir John Grey, Knight=Elizabeth=Edward IV., King of England.

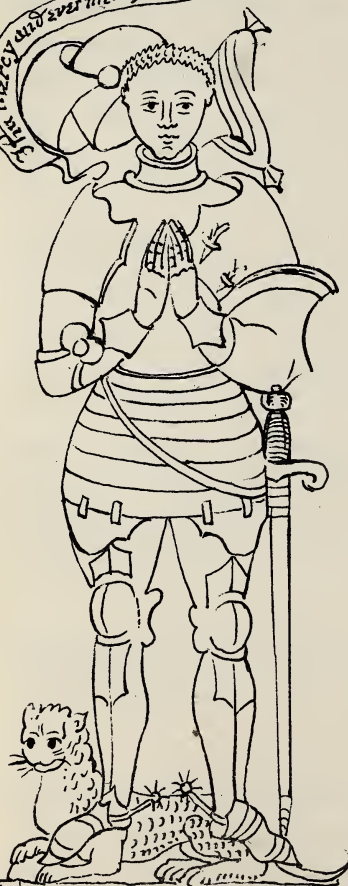
The outline of the canopied altar-tomb in Maidstone church, hesitatingly assigned by Dering to Courtenay, represents a monument about which considerable uncertainty has existed.

¹ This Stephen Norton was a celebrated bell-founder in Kent.





The mercy and ever mercy for thy mercy full Trust
The in thy mercy pittie and Grace full Trust

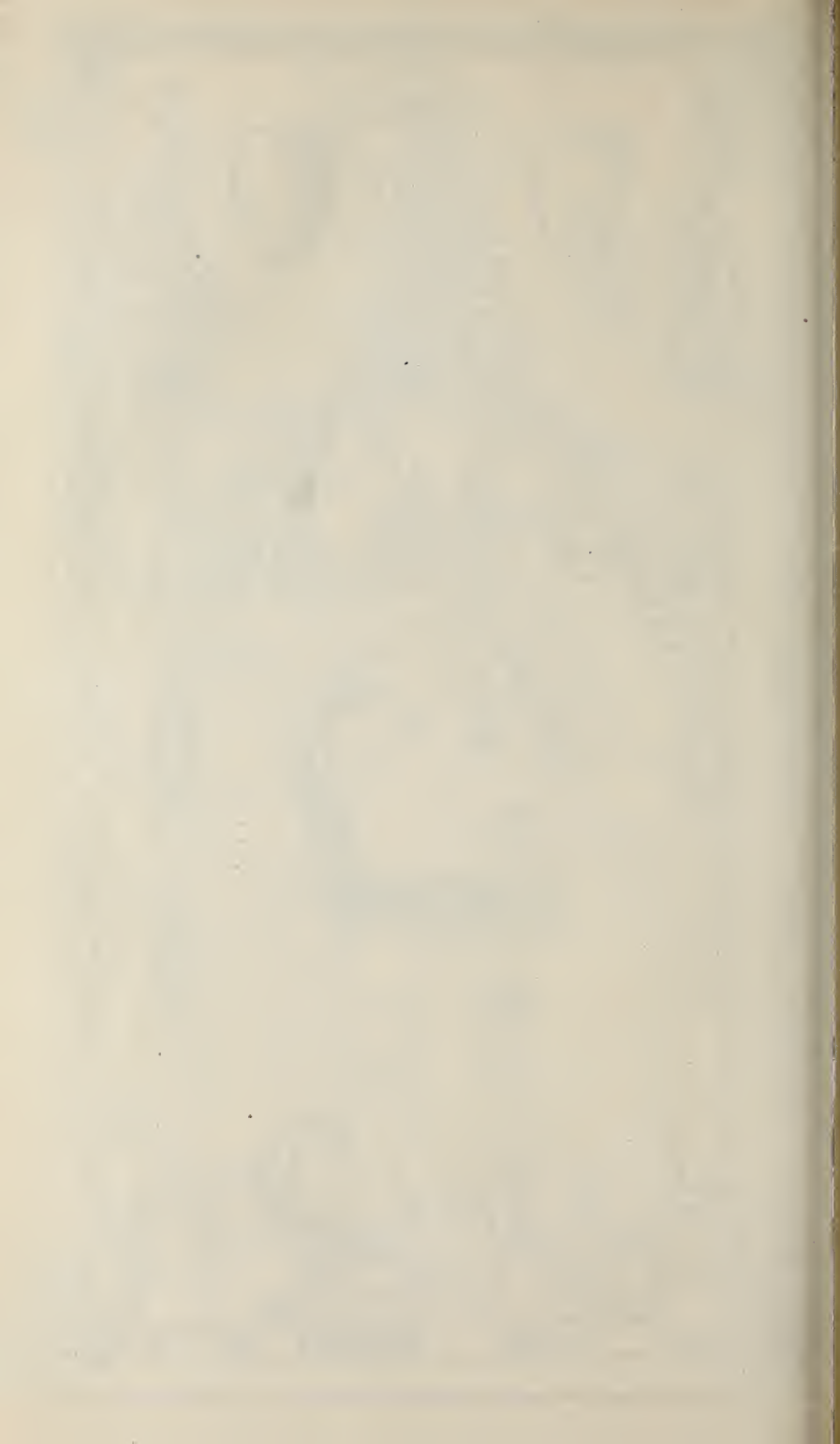


moneta Constabularis Castri domus et castos annos Portum qui obli-



domini william octogesimo quarto regis anglie

Handwritten title: *Handwritten text*



Courtenay lived much at Maidstone, and founded the College there; he was also a great benefactor to the church of Maidstone. In his will, made some time before his death, he had bequeathed that his body should be buried in the nave of Exeter cathedral, where the remains of his father and mother rested;¹ but during his last illness he altered his intentions, and added a codicil directing that his remains should be interred in the collegiate church of Maidstone, not esteeming himself worthy to repose in the metropolitan church of Canterbury. At the time of his death, July 31st, 1396, King Richard II. was at Canterbury, and being informed of that event, gave orders that the obsequies should take place there; and his body was accordingly removed to Canterbury for that purpose on the 4th of August, where, according to a small old Obituary in the Registry of Canterbury, he was interred in the presence of the King, nobility, clergy, and ten thousand people.²

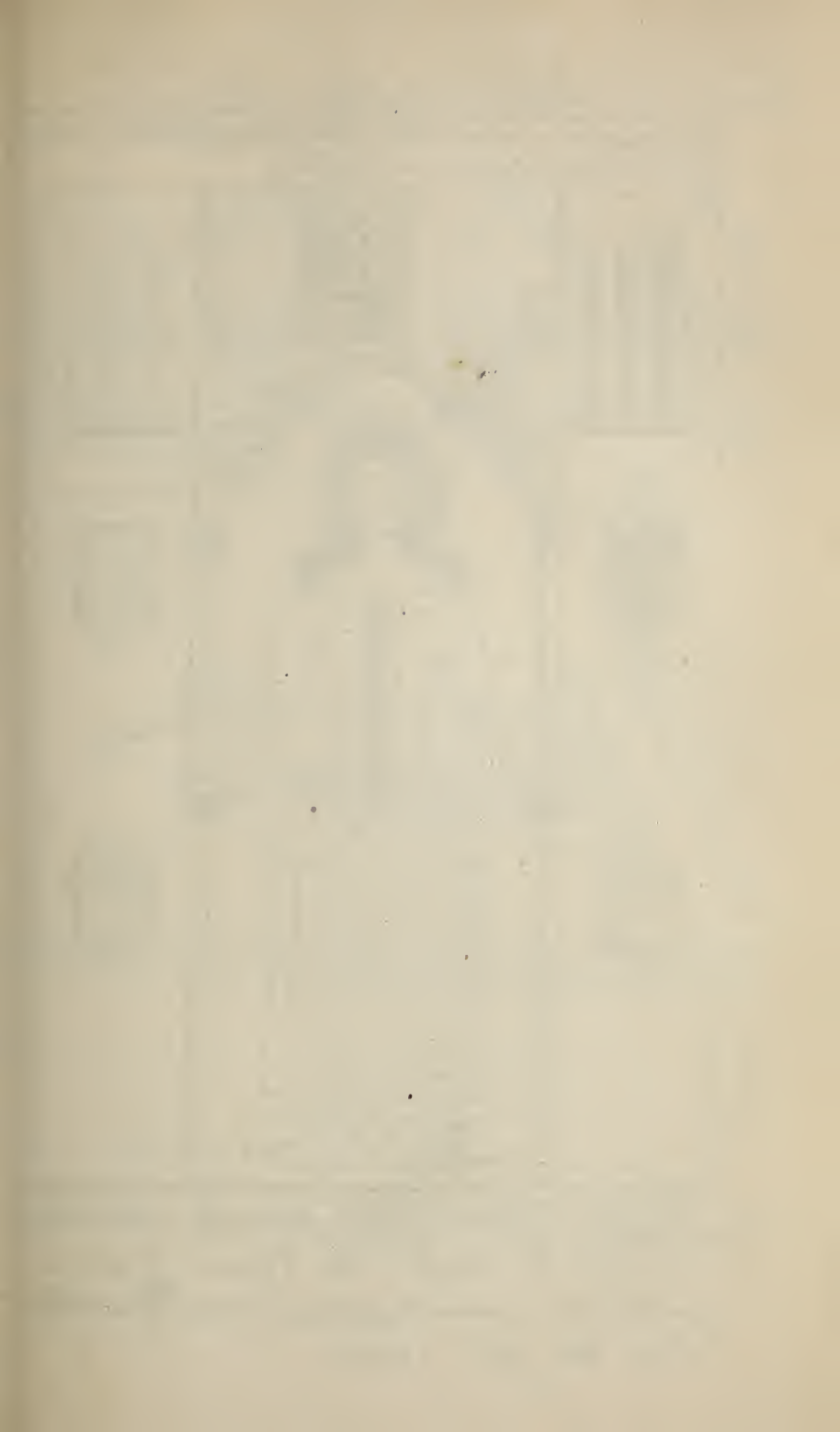
If this be a correct historical outline, we may reasonably conclude that Courtenay's remains lie at Canterbury, beneath the alabaster monument there raised to his memory, though without an inscription. A tomb, however, had been prepared for him at Maidstone. Weaver gives us the Latin hexameter epitaph which was inscribed upon it; it was probably from the pen of Wotton; and expressly asserts that the Archbishop had caused the tomb to be built "ab imo," and had desired to be buried therein: and there still exists in the pave-

¹ For further particulars respecting the Courtenay ancestry and lineage, see Gibbon's digressions on the family of Courtenay, at the end of the sixty-first chapter of his 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.'

² Admitting the necessary time which would be occupied by first conveying the news to Canterbury (twenty-six miles), taking the King's directions, returning with them to Maidstone, making preparations for the removal, journey of the body and attendants, (with probably a night's delay at the archiepiscopal palace of Charing), cathedral and other arrangements at Canterbury, we cannot suppose the whole to have been completed in four days, but that the removal commenced four days after death.

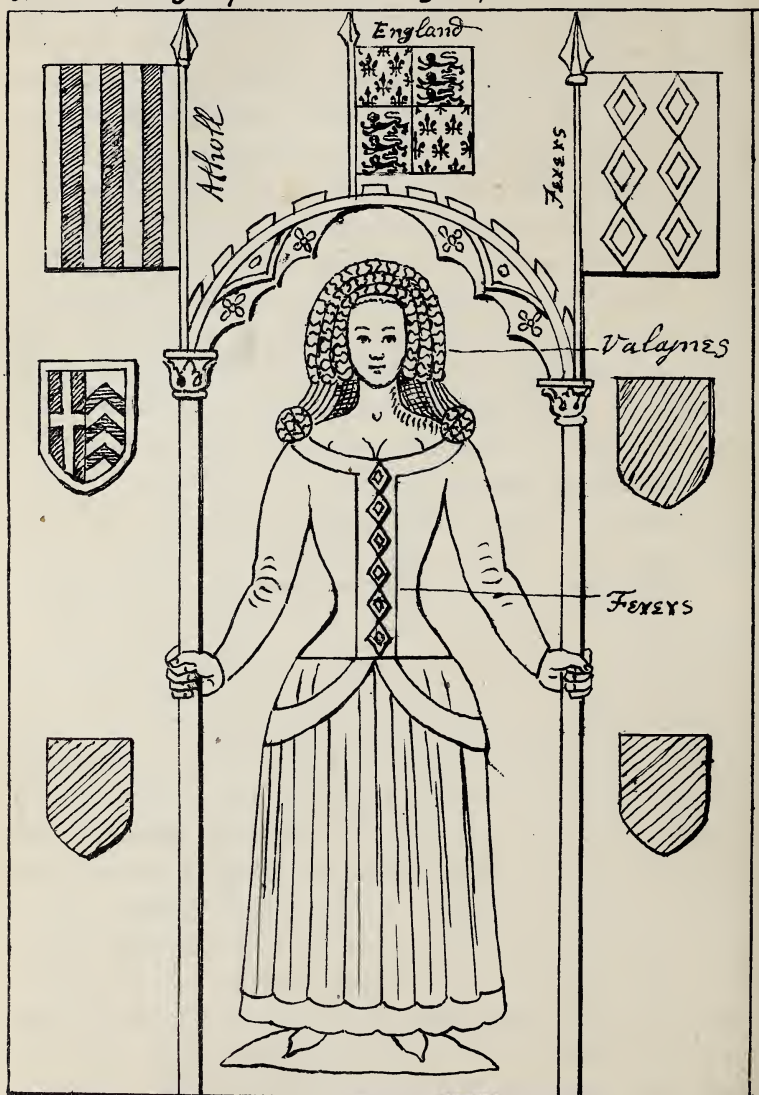
ment of the chancel a large slab eleven feet five inches long by four feet two and a half inches wide, which manifestly demonstrates, by the still existing indentations, that an Archbishop's brass, with canopy and other ornaments, once occupied its surface. The Rev. Beale Poste has kindly informed me that until the commencement of the present century, it formed the tablet of an altar-tomb, but the loss of the brasses no doubt occurred anterior to Dering's visit, or he would have noted them. On this altar-tomb, probably, Courtenay's body lay in state immediately after his death, with the full intention that his obsequies would be there completed as by himself directed, all things proceeding regularly for that end, and there commenced the fifteen thousand masses and two thousand matins he had directed should be offered up for the repose of his soul: but, owing to the King's directions, the tomb itself remained a mere cenotaph.

But the question still recurs, How can we prove the canopied monument so long associated with Courtenay, to be Wotton's, and not Courtenay's? By referring to the Will of Wotton, in the Registry of Lambeth Palace, 'Chichele,' p. 309, we find Wotton thus providing for his burial—"Presentando corpus meum ecclesiastice sepulture, videlicet in ecclesia collegiata de Maydeston antedicta, in loco destinato, ante altare sancti Thome martiris, in ala australi dicte ecclesie collegiate." Hence, it is evident that he had fixed upon the identical spot on which the monument now stands, as that where he wished his body to be buried; the place therefore could not have been previously occupied by either cenotaph or tomb. The confusion seems to have arisen from the various escutcheons displaying so prominently the arms of Wotton's great patron, Courtenay. The canopy still exhibits the following coats: first, the arms of the college of which Wotton was the first master, azure three bars gemelles, or; second, those of Wotton's first patron,



Asliford 20 July . 1628

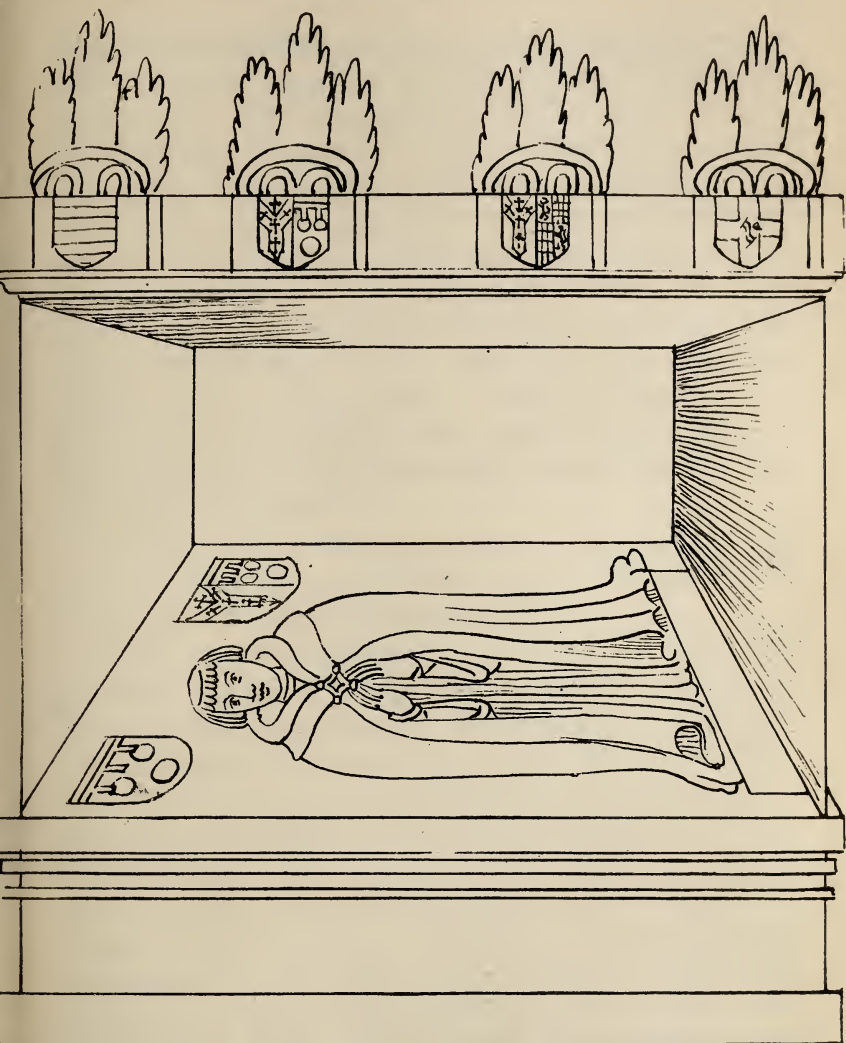
In y^e parsons chancell, this stone upon y^e floore with
this circumscription in brasse /



Tey gist Elisabeth Jadye countesse D'athels
La Fille le Seignr. de Fexers q Deu
assoill qe moxust Le 22. Jour D'october
L'an de gre. 1375.

Mayestown 1032

An altar tomb between y^e chancel and y^e south chappell
for r^m Courtenay Arch^b yu



"Hic iacet Johannes Wotton rector ecclesie parochialis de"
"Slapeturst canonicus Ecestrensis et primus magister "
"huius collegij qui obiit ultimo die mensis octob. A^o Dⁿⁱ "
"1427"

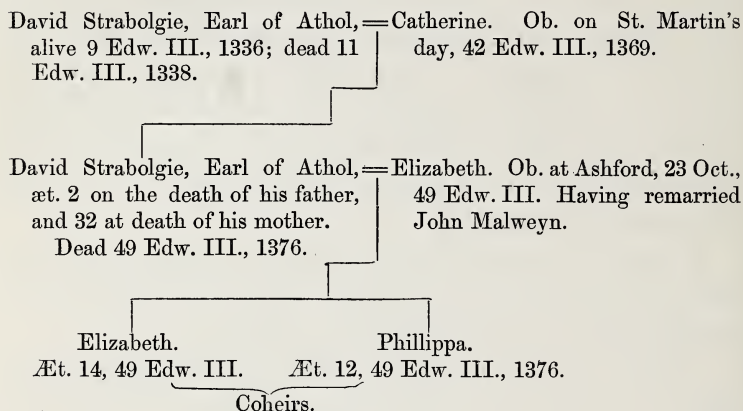
In y^e Chancel under y^e communion table

Courtenay, impaling the See; third, Arundel, Courtenay's successor, impaling the See; lastly, Christchurch, Canterbury. The circumstance that the arms of Arundel, Courtenay's successor, occur on the canopy, at once proves that the monument could not be Courtenay's, but that the two archbishops stand in nearly equal relation, as patrons of him whose tomb their arms decorate. The brass portrait, according to Dering's drawing, was that of a simple priest, having at his head on one side, the arms of Courtenay; on the other, the same arms impaling the See of Canterbury. I have not been able to discover that Wotton had any coat or was entitled to bear arms, which circumstance may account for his using the arms of his patrons.

It may be interesting in a future volume to give the wills of Courtenay and Wotton more at large, as they contain many curious illustrative details.

Lastly, the Ashford Brass, to a Countess of Athol, has hitherto proved of rather an enigmatical character. Weaver calls this monument the chief glory of Ashford for antiquity. It is now in a more ruinous condition than it was in the days of Dering; the greater part of the figure, the Arms of Athol, and nearly all the inscription, are gone; also the shield with the cross impaling the chevronels. Notwithstanding the acknowledged evidence of the inscription, confirmed as it is by Dering's statement that the brass was in memory of Elizabeth, Countess of Athol, and daughter of Lord Ferrers, who died October 22nd, 1375, much misrepresentation has existed. The chief pedigraic authorities have hitherto assumed that Elizabeth was an error, and that Catherine, her mother-in-law, was the person buried at Ashford, seemingly for no better reason than that 1375 was assigned as the date of her death as well as that of her daughter-in-law. After much investigation by Mr. King among the records of the Heralds' College, a pedigree by

Vincent turned up, from a book marked *Quid Non*, which threw much light upon the question; but as Vincent's pedigree contained some grave chronological errors, I procured a search to be made among the 'Inquisitiones post mortem' at the General Record Office, and embody the results of that investigation in the following pedigraic sketch:—



The return of the jury, though no doubt in the main correct, gives a slight error of about two years in the age of David the son, which however is not of sufficient importance to affect our object of identifying the monument as that of Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry Lord Ferrers, of Groby. Vincent's pedigree gives the date of the death of this David, Earl of Athol, as Oct. 10, 43 Edw. III., or 1370, which affords about five years' survivorship for his wife, during which time she is described as becoming the wife of Malweyn, of Ashford. Had the Inquisitions recorded the name as Malmmain or Valoignes, the association would have appeared intelligible; the Malmains having large property at Waldershare and Pluckley, and the Valoignes great possessions at Ashford; as also had the Fogges, with one of whom, Thomas Fogge, Esq., of Ashford, she is also associated, as Hasted says,

in a pedigree of Bargrave's, whom he therefore thinks might have been a third husband.

There is another pedigree in the College of Arms, in which Malweyn is given as a marriage previous to Athol. Thus although Dering marks the head-dress as Valoignes, throwing in his testimony in favour of that name, we are left to conjecture by which of her reputed husbands she found her place in Ashford. That she died there is specifically stated in the Inquisition. If he be correct, "Malweyn" in the Inquisitions and in our pedigree is a misreading for Valoignes. But the name is so frequently repeated in these Inquisitions as decidedly "Malweyn," that, till further evidence turns up, we must, however reluctantly, infer that in this instance Dering is in error.

In concluding this article, the writer trusts that if every difficulty is not cleared away, enough has been said to show the degree of interest attached to Dering's notes and sketches, and the monuments they elucidate.

SIR ROGER TWYSDEN'S JOURNAL.

FROM THE ROYDON HALL MSS.

IN the private collections of this County, many Diaries of the Worthies of past ages, who have done our Country honour by their lives and their works, are still carefully preserved. In no more appropriate manner can such works be given to the world, than in the pages of our own 'Archæologia.' We shall thus enlist the wise and great of other days to contribute their papers among those of our living supporters. Though dead, their lips shall still teach wisdom.

We will begin with the diary of the pious, learned, patriotic, and loyal Sir Roger Twysden.

It details the persecutions which he suffered at the hands of the Parliament, between the years 1641 and 1648.

We can promise our readers much gratification in the perusal. It will let them behind the scenes in the getting up the celebrated Kent petition which alarmed the Parliament and drew down their vengeance upon the sturdy loyalists of Kent. It will reveal many interesting events that occurred in the county during the Rebellion; exhibiting a sad picture of the state of society generated by Civil Convulsions.

It is a plain statement of facts left to speak for themselves. There is no attempt at distortion or exaggeration; it is a simple journal of events as they actually

occurred. In forming an opinion, from its disclosures, of the treatment which Roger Twysden received, be it remembered that he was no violent Ultra-Royalist, not one strongly committed to that side, quite the contrary; his leanings were rather to the popular party. He was always a hearty and consistent upholder of the Constitution. The history of it had been the study of his life, and no man of his day was a more consummate master of it, or more devoted himself to maintain it in its integrity. No one who has read his 'Treatise on the Government of England,' his 'Defence of the Church,' and his 'Commoner's Liberty, or Englishman's Birth-right,' can hesitate in pronouncing him a man of thorough independence of thought and action; equally opposed to the tyranny of one as to that of many. The invasion of the Constitution, from whichever side it came, at once aroused all his energies in its defence. "What was it to him" (they are his own words) "whether the Duke of Buckingham, or my Lord Treasurer Weston were author of an illegality; whether the Earl of Strafford, or Mr. Pym sat at the helm of government, if their commands carried equal pressure?"

He refused shipmoney, and was as much opposed as Hampden himself to the encroachments of the Crown, against which he was through life continually struggling. Indeed, his resistance to them was, to the full, as determined and energetic, as any which he ever displayed against the unconstitutional orders of the Parliament. He would commit himself unreservedly to neither party, and thus, perhaps, incurred the enmity of both. As for the Independents, they early saw that he was a man of too great importance and influence in his own county to be left to his own free action. They therefore at once put him under restraint, and assuredly did not spare the great master and devoted worshiper of Constitutional Law.

The Diary (the Title-page of which we have given in facsimile) was completed and carefully prepared for the press by Sir Roger himself, and was evidently intended for publication during the Protectorate. It is written throughout in his singularly clear and neat hand, with the disfigurement of hardly a single correction; except in a very few instances chiefly made requisite by the Restoration. Why it was never published, it may not be difficult to conjecture, when we remember how entirely engrossed Sir Roger Twysden was, during the latter years of his life, in those learned researches to which we are largely indebted for the little we know of the early history of England. While occupied in these all absorbing labours, he probably laid aside his private memorials, entrusting the publication of them to those of his family who should come after him, a charge which they seem to have neglected, leaving thereby to us the gratification of first presenting them to the world. The manuscript is too long to be printed entire in a single volume of our serials; we therefore purpose giving it in successive portions. When we shall have subjoined his private correspondence, and a few extracts from his notebooks, we shall be much mistaken if our readers do not love and admire the man as warmly as we ourselves do, for the depth of his learning, the soundness of his acquirements, his unfeigned and active piety, his domestic virtues, his loyalty, his ardent love of liberty, his truly English spirit.¹

“Bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter.”

L. B. L.

¹ We would refer those who are desirous to know more of the history of our patriotic Journalist, to a charming biographical sketch prefixed by the late J. M. Kemble, Esq., to Sir Roger's Treatise on the Government of England, published by the Camden Society in the year 1848.

AN HISTORICALL, NAR- RATIVE of the two

houses of Parliament and either of
them, their committees and Agents
violent proceedings against ^{S^r} Roger Twys-
den their imprisoning his person, sequestering
his estate, cutting down his woods, and Tym-
ber to his almost undoing, and forcing him
in the end to Composition for his own.

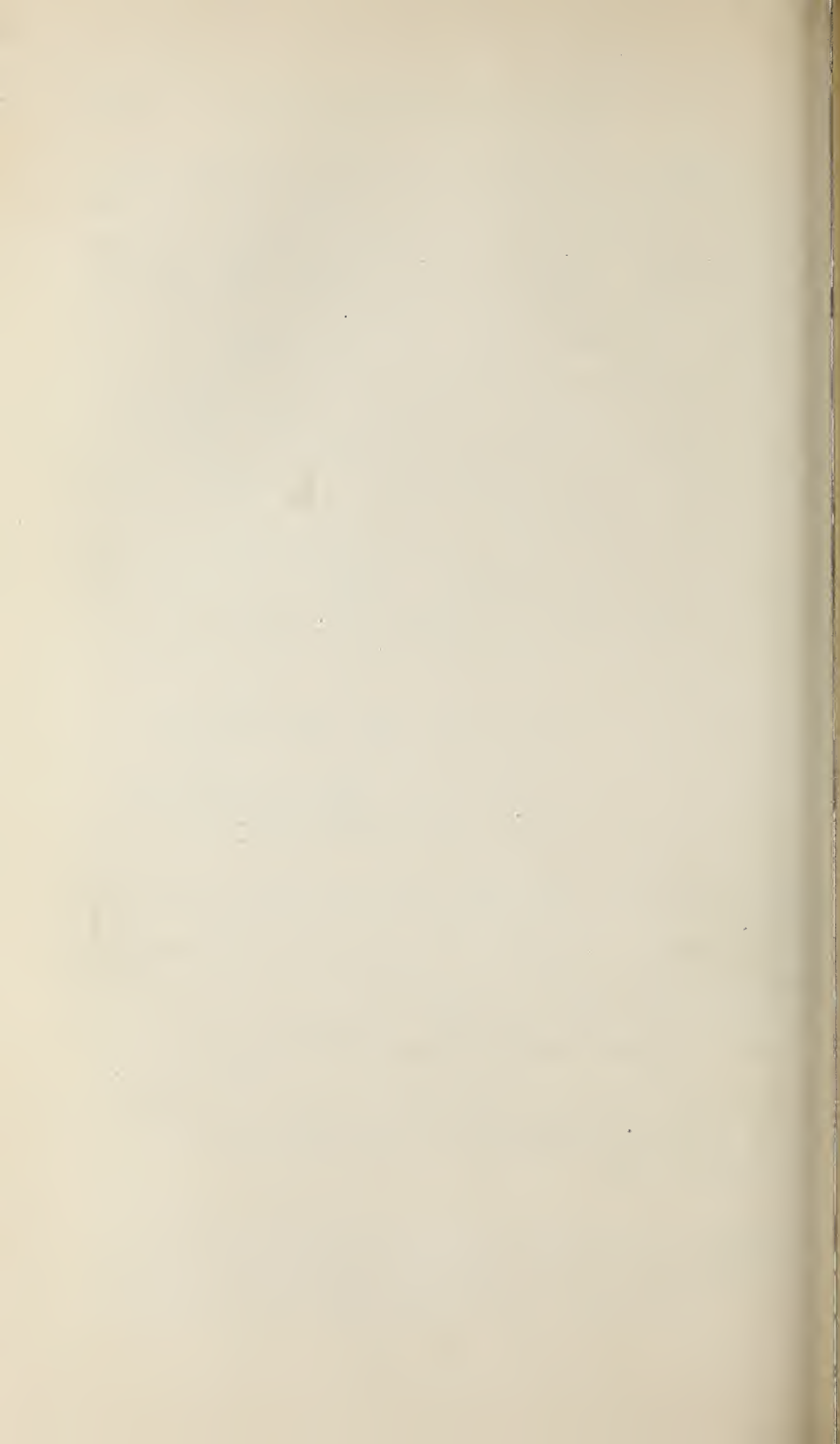
Cicero Orat. 29. Pro Domo sua

p. 386, n 35. Editio. Roberti Sker-
phani. Paris. MD XXXIX.

*Omnis acerbitas syllanis temporis, quid maxime sit insignis
ad memoriam crudelitatis? Opinor poenam in ciues Romanos
nominatione sine iudicio constitutam.*

Apud Tacit. Annal. 16. Capito

*ut imperium esset, Libertatem praeferebant: Si perver-
terint ipsam aggrediebantur.*



SIR ROGER TWYSDEN'S JOURNAL.

NEVER did any Man with more earnest expectation long for a Parlyament then I did;—seeing, to my understanding, the great necessity of one both for Church and State; nor did (so far as my calling led me), more then I, oppose any illegall course might retard y^e calling of one (as my sute wth the Heralds for fees, after my father's death, in my Lord Marishall's Court, might give good evidence; As likewise y^e contest I had wth one George Bristock, who, setting up a Brewhouse at Tunbridge, by a power, as he pretended, from Court, prohibeted men the brewing and selling beere of their owne making, and thereupon uttered hys owne, not only at unreasonable rates, but as (was informed) issued out unwholesome drink, w^{ch} being complayned of, he was so proceeded against by that worthy patriot Mr. Dixon, and myself, when others refused to meddle wth it, as he made little farther use of his patent); Or did more joy at that hon^{ble} action of some Lords, who delivered a petition to hys late Mat^y in y^e North for the summoning of one; never imagining a Parlyament would have tooke upon them the redressing things amisse, eyther in y^e ecclesiastique or Temporall government, by a way not traced out unto them by their auncestors; or the house of Commons would have assumed a power of commanding those who auctorised their sitting in it, otherwise then by making lawes that both were to obey.

2. 3rd November, 1640.—But after their Meeting, y^e 3 of November, 1640, their entring upon buisnesse, and that I saw y^e unusuall proceedings against the Earl of Strafford, by a close Committee¹ first, and after, in Westminster Hall, that Mr. Sollicitor² published, “The

¹ There was never any private or close Committee of y^e House of Commons till King Charles hys tyme, when some persons endeavoured to make y^e Duke of Buckingham guilty of King James hys death.—T.

² Mr. Solicitor St. Johns hys argument at law against y^e Earl of Strafford, pp. 67, 65.—T.

law of the 25 Ed. III., for treasons,¹ did not take away those at y^e Common Law ;—That beeing penall it might bee construed by equity;²—That though wee give law to Hares and Deere, yet it was not cruelty to knock foxes and wolves on y^e head as they could bee found ;”³—That they did not so much seeke to redresse things amisse as to spend tyme in setting out y^e miseries wee lay under, in quarrelling at Offenders or indeed any man allmost had got an estate in these tymes, I confesse I beegan to bee much troubled, and fear if wee did change our Task Masters, our burthens would not bee lesse. And what was it to me, whither y^e Duke of Buckingham or my Lord Treasurer Weston were auctor of an illegalyty ; whither the Earl of Strafford or Mr. Pym sate at the helme of government, if their commands carryed equall pressure ? The Howse of Commons endeavouring to remove one in auctoryty, might advance such as hoped to succeede hym ; but for me, a private man, there would be much more advantage by compounding for y^e Court of Wards, by remoeving a taxe by a good law, w^{ch} the King in justice and honor was tyed to maynteyn, then by inquiring who was y^e occasion of imposing it.

3. In January, 1640-1, his Ma^{ties} Justices of y^e peace of y^e South Division of y^e Lath of Aylesford received two orders, the one of the date of y^e 7th of December, under the hande of the Clark of y^e howse of Commons, requyring and enjoyning them to command y^e Churchwardens, and other Officers wthin their parishes and precincts, to certyfy the names of all Recusants, to the end they might bee proceeded against according to law at the next Sessions. The other of y^e 24 of the same month, That if any, upon inquiry, refused to make

¹ p. 24.—T.

² p. 72.—T.

³ See Clarendon's 'History of the Rebellion,' edit. 1702, fol. 13, p. 183.—ED.

known hys name, to bee committed to prison till he found suerties for hys good abearing, and to certyfy to the howse of Commons all such as excused themselves by priviledge of Parlyament, etc.

4. This I conceive the first command the howse of Commons ever extended to all hys Maties Justices of Peace through England (for what was done heere was likewise in other places); and it seemed to me very preposterous that they who were agents for others Petitioners, and Assentors in making lawes in others' stead, should generally command so considerable a part of those had sent them thither by paper Orders. I remembred to have read of a certayn Byshop, who, in hys journey to Trent, being rob^d, desired y^e Councell there met to make some declaration against such as should enterprise y^e like in future, w^{ch} the Legats dextrously diverted, considering how dangerous the consequence might bee to y^e Pope, for them there to make Edicts "*per propria esaltatione*."¹ Besides, I did not know any law (w^{ch} they then profest to mainteyn) inabled a Justice of Peace to cast in prison or bind to the good behaviour any person, Popish recusant or other, meerely for refusing to tell hys name. But former fears of that partie's prevayling, and of some more then ordinary favor carryed unto them, made every Justice willing to adde their help to y^e discovery of them—though I know some saw an ille sequele might ensue their doing it on such a warrant.

5. And these were y^e leading presidents to that of y^e 28 of August, 1641, inabling and requiring Mayors, Jurats, Justices of Peace, etc., to disarme all Popish Re-

¹ Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. 2, p. 133, edit. London, 1619.—T.

"Catalano Triultio, Vescovo di Piacenza, arrivato 2 giorni prima, narrò pubblicamente, che passando poco lontano dalla Mirandola era stato svaligiato, et dimandò, che in Concilio si facesse un' ordinatione contra quelli che impedivano o molestavano i Prelati, & altre persone che andassero al Concilio," etc. etc.—ED.

cusants, and, where as y^e Statute of King James¹ extended onely to such as were legally convict, this reached any had not repayred to Church more then once in a month, or having two or more howsehold servants of the Popish religion; in short, any that could bee imagined popishly affected: and, for the seeing it put in speedy execution, named certayn members of y^e Neither howse as supervisors of every man's actions. And about the same tyme there came out a declaration wth orders of y^e howse of Commons, wth another from Mr. Pym, as Chayr man of y^e Committee (during a Recess y^e Commons had taken), for the publishing the same in all Churches, expressing their dissent from y^e Lords (who had commanded divine service to bee performed as it stode appoynted by the Acts of Parlyament of this Realm), and published for the better understanding th' intentions of y^e sayd howse.

6. When I saw these, and that they carryed a shew of relieving tender consciences who could not submit to some inocent ceremonies, I pray'd hartyly to God the true meaning of hym that sent them abroad were not² to make tryall whither they should not find obedience enough upon their owne strength to issue out and force us to submit to other commands of theirs. And I very well remember, beeing, after Michaelmas, 1641, at the Quarter Sessions, S^r Edward Deering, then a Parlyament Man, was asked two questions:—1st, If a Justice of Peace should take away y^e goods of any man not prohibyted by law y^e keeping armor, whether he conceived that Order of y^e Lords and Commons would save hym harmlesse? 2^{ly}, Whether those orders of the Howse, and Mr. Pym's upon them, were intended for a suspension of Divine service as it was then by law establisht, or onely to declare men should celebrate it as formerly,

¹ 3 Jac. c. 5.—T.

² *i.e.* "I prayed heartily to God that the true meaning of him that

according to the last words,¹ tyll farther order were taken?—but to nether of these would he deliver any positive answer; onely, in generall, That the howse of Commons meant all good to the Protestant religion; That he was not present when they past, so knewe nothing more then he saw.

7. But hee, poore Gentleman, beeing soone after cast out, by experyence found how absolute the aucturity of that howse was. And this beeing y^e first knight of y^e shire for Kent was ever ejected, bred much discourse, many affirming if they had a power by vote of excluding any one lawfully chosen, they could, in a very essentiall poynt, alone alter y^e law, w^{ch} could not bee but by the King and the three Estates in Parlyament; for every man sitting there by law, the remooving of hym must make a change of it. Beesides the thing itself might prove full of inconvenience; for the Major part, if more factious, might put out the lesser, though the soberer, and so none admitted according to that of severall Counties, but by their owne opinions, who upon dubious elections might please themselves, not the Counties, in y^e choice. But I returne whense I have a little wanderd.

8. In Lent, 1640-1, sitting at the Assizes in Maydstone, on the Benche, the bill of six subsidies was given me, and the King's Commission under y^e great seal for levying of them, shewed me; casting my eye upon it, I observed the Howse of Commons (for Lords I saw none) had named themselves and other Commissioners (called in former tymes Controulers)² for y^e levying of them. That they were to bee payd, not in an ordinary way into

sent them abroad might not turn out, as I suspected it to be, merely to make trial," etc.—ED.

¹ i.e. "To declare men should celebrate it, as it used to be before Laud's regulations with regard to the altar and its services, which these last Resolutions of the House might seem to imply."—ED.

² Rot. Parl. at West., No. 51; 13 Hen. IV. No. 9.—T.

the Exchequer, but Guildhall, to be issued thence by certayn Lords and Commons named in the Act. I can not deny but, reading this, to have beene startled at it, and then agayn to have beene confirmed in my opinion our purses would bee shreudly searched. I rememberd to have seene many Petitions in Parlyament,¹ y^t the members might not bee Assessors nor Controullers of what they gave, but never any one to inable them to meddle wth a peny of y^e guift; neither did they take upon them, at a tyme too the Parlyament was high enough,² the rewarding their owne Clark or other, but by petitioning the King to doe it. Wee doe easily submit, in poynt of arbitment, to an other's judgment what will bee fit for us to give a third; but few will oblige themselves to stand to what one thinks fit to receive himself. And whereas the Ephori in Greece, the Tribuns in Rome, the Curatores in England (as Mat. Westminster seemes to call them),³ did grapple to themselves what made their power insupportable, and proved in y^e end their ruine, so I confesse I apprehended the howse of Commons might grow no lesse burthensome to the people of this nation.

9. And heere (if I may bee permitted to digresse a little) I dare boldly affirme in the auntient way of supplying the Prince by Parlayment truely followed, there is the least possibylity of hurt to ensue to any particular person, and y^e most advantage to y^e publick of any constitution of State tyme did ever produce. The Commons (wthout whom no law is) beeing trusted wth the kingdome's purse, not to expend it themselves (for then their aymes might bee sometymes extravagant, and they too lavish in their expences), but to give it an other, who by sworn officers did distribute it in y^e kingdome's service, so as the guift comes absolutely to the Prince's Coffers wth

¹ Rot. Parl. 22 Ed. III. No. 24; 45 Ed. III. No. 43; 13 Hen. IV. No. 10; 2 Ric. II. at West., No. 51; 6 Hen. IV. No. 9, with divers more.—T.

² Rot. Parl. 11 Rich. II. No. 21; vide 21 Ric. II. No. 76.—T.

³ Mat. West., anno 1245, p. 330-28.—T.

out any considerable defalcation ; to w^{ch} purpos I shall not unfitly remember the 51st of Ed. III.,¹ the Parlyament having graunted His Ma^{ty} an unusuall Subsidy of 4^d per teste, and wthall (the king old) desiring he would bee pleased to nominate two Earls and two Barons for the expending of what should bee thus collected (as likewise of y^e guift of y^e Cleargy and Tunnage and Poundage) on the King's wars, it fell into consideration, what might bee fit to alow y^e foure for their attendance on the service, upon w^{ch} it is recorded, *Les Coes se departirent de celle propos, et prièrent qe le dit haut Tresorer feust le Receiver et Gardein al oeps des dites guerres en manere accoustume.*

10. And though upon a guift² the next Parlyament of two Fieftenes and two Tenths His Ma^{ty}, then young, was induced to assigne two Merchants of London for y^e beestowing of it upon hys wars, and not otherwise ; yet in that at Glocester³ immediately following, the Commons desiring to see the accounts how it had beene expended, in w^{ch}, though the King gave them satisfaction (of hys owne free will, not as of right), yet he added, that it had beene never seene that, of subsidy or other graunt made to the King, in Parlyament or out of Parlyament, account had beene ever rendered to y^e Commons or other, but only to y^e King and hys officers.⁴

11. And this constitution of the Commonwealth seemed to me built on very solid grounds of reason for the subjects' happynesse, in respect both of y^e Prince and people ;—of the King, because had y^e Commons a power, as well in seeing how it were disposed, as in giving extraordinary supplies, it were not possible to avoyd questions, disputes, and unkindnesse in y^e laying

¹ Rot. Parl. 51 Ed. III. No. 19, 20, 21.—T.

² Rot. Parl. 1 Ric. II. No. 27.—T.

³ Rot. Parl. at Glocester, 2 Ric. II.—T.

⁴ See y^e case of Michael de la Pole, Rot. Parl. en My Quaresme, 14 Ed. III. No. 22, 23, 27.—T.

of it out by hym and his officers, as I myself saw upon y^e Act of 21 Jacobi, cap. (*sic*), and that very Roll of 2^d Ric. 2^d did playnly manifest;—on y^e people's part, beecause wheresoever they have any the least share, as well in dispensing as giving y^e publike Treasure, the Commons are most insupportably burthened, as all Republicques, and the present experience of our neyghbours sufficiently assure us. For, if the beginning of those great Gabelles,¹ France (wthout hope of reliefe) gaspeth under, were not 1356, whilst King John remayned prisoner heere, and the French governed by the three estates first beegun, certaynly they were then setteled by their auctoryty, which, about an hundred years after, Charles y^e VII., by the assistans of the souldiary y^t helped hym in the expulsion of y^e English out of Normandy and Guien, did first lay onely² by regall power, sweld now to that height, as what y^e fermor pays the King is far more then what he doth y^e Landlord. God of hys mercy avert England from succeeding them in misery!

12.—1641. Upon these considerations I was not wthout apprehension what the issue of things might bee; but y^e many good lawes then past persuaded me it was to no other intent then that was given (as one of them assured me), might not goe into private courtiers' purses, but spent

¹ See Froissard, to. 1, cap. 155, p. 180; Mat. Villani, lib. 6, cap. 18; lib. 7, cap. 51 and 53; lib. 8, cap. 38. Sir Roger inserts the following note on the next page without reference, but it is evident that this is the place to which he had intended it to be added:—1356, whilst King John remayned heere in prison. “Il governmento del Reame di Francia, era ridotto a tre Stati, cio è Prelati, Baroni, e Borghesi, i quali tenieno il consiglio, et deliberavano quello volieno che nel Reame si facesse, et il Delphino vi consentiva. . . . Il Proposto di Parigi col favore del popolo ruppe quello ordine; e recò il governmento di Parigi alle mani de Borghesi, schiudendone prima i Baroni e poscia i Prelati, e per essemplio di costoro così feciono l'altre ville di Picardia, e d'altre Provincie del Reame. Et qui cominciò l'odio da gentili huomini al popolo.”—Mat. Villani, Hist. lib. 8, cap. 38.—T.

² Comines, lib. 6, cap. 7 editionis Dionisii Sauvage, 1580, et in aliis cap. 129.—T.

as designed; so, as beeing one nominated by them, I did the best lay in me for collecting the guift, or rather, assessing of it, though after I found us mistaken, never any prince making greater excesse in rewards then they to each other.

13. Some while after, hearing of the perpetuating the Parliament, The Earl of Strafford's execution by a private law (w^{ch} yet no other judge was to take for a rule), No other declaration of hys treason but Mr. Sollicitor's argument, of which before, n. 2, I cannot deny but I beegan to bee much troubled, and resolved to sequester myself from anything of publick so much as lay in my power, remembering a saying of my father's, "Bene vivit qui bene latet." And that I might give no offence, resolved, as occasion should serve, to goe beeyond y^e Seas, for which purpos I had provided me of a passe, which I kept by me.

14. That which troubled me in my Lord's execution was, that if penall Statutes, even those concerned Treason, might be expounded, not according to the letter, but by equity, I did not see any man could bee certayn not to bee impeached of Treason; and y^e clause in y^e 25 Ed. 3^d, That the Justices should not determine any thing to bee treason not in it specyfied, tyll it were declared by Parlyament,¹ to bee absolutely inverted; that being (as I understood it) an answer to the Commons, and for y^e securing of them in future, in respect some had dyed, as they shewde, for that they understoode not to bee Treason; upon w^{ch} the King enumerates what should bee so reputed, and for their safety in tyme to come, that none might pretend ignorance, added this, "Qe si autre case suppose treison qe n'est especifietz par avant avegne de novel devant ascuns Justices, demoerge le Justice sanz aler a jugement de Treison tanqe devant nostre Seigr le Roy et son Parlement soit le cas monstre

¹ *i.e.* Seemed to be absolutely inverted.—ED.

“ et declare lequel ce doit estre ajuge treison ou autre Felonie.”

15. The perpetuating the howses I did ever looke at as the second part of the xxx tyrants of Athens (of whom Xenophon), that would never end unlesse forced; men in auctority doe not easily quit that they have possest themselves of, and generally looke rather at what may confirme their power, then the partycular good of those that trusted them, and wthout whom, perhaps, they had not ascended to that pytch. The Consuls and Senat at Rome were not at first lesse burthensome then their Kings; the Ephori of Lacedemon and the Roman Tribuns beecame so. I dare boldly say there is no example in History of any temporary Court, having a perpetuity annexed to it, that did ever end but necessitated;¹ and I think few now doubt this late Parlyament would ever have set a period to their sitting, had there beene a lesse powerfull Sollicitor then my Lord Protector, to whom this nation is infinitely bound for seeing it concluded.²

16. For avoyding the inconveniences a Republick meets wth, the wisest have prescribed no rule of better effect then to have not any Officer of long continuance; but as Tully³ says, that he w^{ch} obeys may hope to governe, he y^t rules expect in short to bee ruled; and therefore that of Livy⁴ with them is most true, to have no great officer remayn long in a place; of w^{ch} Tiberius,⁵ in Tacitus, gives the reason, beecause men will bee proud though annually chosen. I remember that in Dio,⁶ the

¹ *i. e.* Till it was necessitated.

² This last sentence, afterwards added, t. Cromwell.—Ed.

³ Cicero de Legibus, lib. 3, fol. 184 *b*, 185 *a*, editionis Aldin. Venet. 1545.—T.

⁴ “Maxima libertatis custodia, si magna imperia diuturna non sunt,” Liv. lib. iv.—T. [cap. 24.]

⁵ “Superbiunt homines etiam annuâ designatione, quid si honores per quinquennium agitent, etc.” (Tacit. Annal. ii.)—T.

⁶ Dio, lib. 44, in principio; et Seneca de Beneficiis, lib. 2, cap. 20, “Optimus civitatis status sub Rege justo.”—T.

name of a popular government to bee specious, but the effect nothing answerable; on y^e other side, Monarchicall, to carry an harsh sounde, but most conduceable to the people's weale; agreeing wth Seneca, that cities doe most flourish under just princes. And that hee should bee so wth us; our ancestors had framed very good lawes, and given the officers by whom justice was administred excelent instructions, the well executing of w^{ch} were of better consequence for y^e people's ease, then to be commanded by paper Ordinances, and votes to bee interpreted by themselves, not the sworn Judges, w^{ch} I confesse I apprehended as the most arbytrary government imaginable, and y^t would introduce the greatest misery to such as lay in subjection under it.

17. The 10th of May, 1641, the King gave his assent to that fatall byll for perpetuating the Parlyament;¹ soone after w^{ch} the Commons beegan to think of barring Bishops from voting in the House of Peeres. I remember I told S^r John Finch, who spake to me of it, I did fear that was but a step to take away their function; to w^{ch} his answer was an assurance there would bee no considerable part of the howse for that; and to speak truth, they were generally so great advancers of Prerogative (w^{ch} an English Prince may better exercise, then taulk of) as joyning wth y^e Privy Councell sundry tymes, they were thought to sway y^e Lords, not wth so much an eye to the Countrie's good as the King's interest. Cardinall Bentivoglio² holds the Crown in Scotland would get no small advantage if the King could again restore Bishops to the Parlyament. But soone after I found it was not so much y^e men as their lands were faulty.

18. But beefore hys Ma^{ty} gave his consent for taking away their votes out of y^e Lords howse,³ another contest wth

¹ In the margin of the MS. here Sir Roger writes :—"Initium malorum nostrorum. 10 May, 1641."—Ed.

² Relazione dello Stato della Religione in Scotia, p. 229.—T.

³ It is sayd King Charles subscribed the byll for taking away y^e Votes of

hym beegan about the Militia, w^{ch} he denyed absolutely the putting into their hands, after the manner they required it.¹ The last clause of which was that such as did not obey their commands should answer their neglect or contempt in a *Parlyamentary* way, and not otherwise. This desire of theirs was apprehended by some, and very grievous to many, who observed that giving moeving originally from y^e Commons, they of late had gayned an interest in disbursing y^e guift; if they should now that of arming and punishing, they had in effect all y^e rights of Sovereignty, the people under an absolute arbitrary voting Tyranny; That this was the imitation of the Tyrants of Athens, to get an army for their defence; that it was to make themselves lords of all wee had, by giving, expending, punishing by votes variable as best liked themselves. That of Tacitus² was remembred, "Odium et invidiam apud multos valere," and of y^e Councell of Trent,³ that in those great assemblies, for y^e differing aymes men brought, it was not allways y^e best opinion had y^e most voyces, and the opponent had ever an advantage of the proponent.

19. And these men did more admire when the 1 of March,⁴ 1641-2, both Howses did protest, if hys Ma^{ty} should not give them satisfaction, the dangers and distempers of y^e Kingdome were such, they should bee inforced to dispose of the Militia after the same manner had beene propounded to his Ma^{ty}, and they resolved to doe it accordingly. By w^{ch} men observed how easy their minds were changed, to see those very men, who

Bishops in y^e very house where y^e Christian religion was first preached, viz. St. Augustin's by Cant.—T.

¹ Collect. of Orders, p. 89, tom. i.—T.

² Tacit. Annal. 3.—T.

³ "Per la varietà delle opinioni et interessi, è difficile ridur tanti in un, pareresse ben buono; la maggiore parte vince la migliore, et chi s'opponne ha sempre vantagio che chi promove." (Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. vj, p. 560, "Gli Ambasciatori," edit. Lond.)—T.

⁴ Collect. of Orders, tom. i. p. 93.—T.

in a Declaration, not fully three months before,¹ did avow all they had done to have beene for hys Maties greatnesse, honor, and support; and, a little after, that they had beene ever carefull not to have desired any thing might weaken the Crowne, eyther in just proffit or usefull power, and who, y^e 31 of December,² affirmed themselves ready to spend the last drop of their blood to mayntayn hys Crowne and Royall person in greatnesse and glory, now to tell hym they will dispose of the strength of y^e kingdome without hym, when certaynly no more usefull power can pertayn to Maty, then not to have a people punished by a law to w^{ch} he assents not, nor any thing more against the honor and greatness of a Monarch then to deprive hym thus of the Protection he owes hys subjects. On these considerations, I know, many held it a thing of dangerous consequence to have men punisht by orders of y^e Howses interpreted by themselves, w^{ch} thing I myself afterward had a sufficient experyment of.

20. And from hynce the Royalists will have the rise of our miseries to have sprung; as, not taking that Prince to beegin y^e war that first arms hymself, but he that doth (and persists in it) the first so apparent injury as the other can have no possible way of redressing it but force, nor any means to maynteyn himself and his but war. Now if it were y^e right of the King, nothing to bee ligatory wthout hys assent, hys subjects to have no law imposed on them but such Acts as hymself gives way to, and the howses would the contrary, enforcing men to raise arms on a pretence of a necessity w^{ch} it was not easy to find, the kingdome wthout an enemy abroad, in firme peace at home, no styr imaginable, unless from the papist (as they suggested),³ whose number and depressions made them seeme rather con-

¹ Collect. of Orders, p. 16.—T.

² Ibid. p. 44.—T.

³ Collect. of Orders, tom. i. p. 97.—T.

temptible then to be dreaded, or the scismatick by them countenanced and wholly at their sway, I can not see what they say is without reason. That w^{ch} wrought most on me was one clause in hys Mat^{ies} speeche at Newmarket, the 9th March, 1641-2, where in he urged them to say whither he had refused to passe any one bylle for the ease and securty of the subject, adding: "I doe not aske what you have done for me," intimating they had done nothing. This made me apprehend (as y^e event proeved) the necessity of an army was no other but an opinion hys Mat^y might by force stoppe their proceedings in some courses there was then an intent of acting. But wth these particulars I have not heere tooke on me to meddle, farther then to shew in what a conjuncture of tyme I went to the Assizes at Maydstone.

21. Whither I came on Twesday, the 21st March, 1641-2, the Assizes beeginning the next day, the onely Judge, S^r Thomas Mallet, having beene there two days beefore, whom I went to see that night, and by chance met wth S^r George Strode¹ going thither too; so together wee came to hym, found there S^r John Sedly² and some other Justices of Peace, who, leaving hym, left us that came last to follow them, w^{ch} wee quickly did, nothing having passed there but common discourse.

22. Having stayd a while wth him, wee tooke our leave, and went to the Inne, where wee found all the Justices of peace sate at supper, and in a discourse of a Petition lately deliverd by S^r Michael Livesy,³ w^{ch} some seemed to mislike, as having expressions not agreeing wth the sense of the County, in w^{ch} I tooke notice of no man more earnest than S^r John Sedly of S^t Cleere.

¹ Of Squerries, in Westerham.—ED.

² Of St. Cleres, in Ightham.—ED.

³ Of East Church, in the island of Shepey. He was one of the Regicide Judges, sitting upon the trial, and signing the death-warrant of the King. He took a prominent part in all the proceedings of the Parliament.—ED.

What the petition was I can not say, onely this in generall. After the King's accusation of y^e Lord Kimbolton and the five Members on y^e third of January beefore, and the Howse of Commons declaring His Mat^y to have proceeded illegally therein, most adjacent Counties were styr^d up to petition the two Howses for vindicating their liberties, exaggerating y^e fact as a publick injury in which every man was concerned; and though, questionlesse, this originally proceeded from some Members of the howse of Commons (for I remember going one day to London, I overtooke about Detford, towards St Thomas hys Watring, divers of Sussex going on that errand, of whom I enquiryed, seeing them in numbers, whither they went; they told me, "to petition the Parlyament;" I asked, for what; to w^{ch} one replyed so as I perceived they did not particularly know themselves, but that the petition was framed allready in towne, they were onely to deliver it when it should bee printed, and I might see it y^e next day).

23. I never doubted the trewe and reall intent of the Parlyament, in encouraging men to this, was to see y^e strength of their party and intimidate the King, then in y^e North. Now that w^{ch} came from Kent had beene delivered by Sr Michael Livesy, which some did not approve, and of it they were in discourse when wee came; and upon it, one sayd, if they misliked what had beene done, it were not amisse now to draw such all might assent unto, w^{ch} motion was generally approved. If I forget not, I asked what the subject of it should bee; to w^{ch} was answerd, "According as y^e Country should make knowne their greevances to y^e Grand Jury." And this is y^e first, for ought I know, any man heard of petitioning; this is y^e effect of what there passed at table of note concerning the Petition.

24. Supper beeing ended wee went a sunder, it beeing too early to goe to bed, Sr Edward Dering, Sr George

Strode, and my self, wth Mr. Richard Spencer,¹ to hys lodging, where I spake of what had past, and not long after, in came Mr. Blount,² y^t lives about Greenwich. By us many things were propounded as worthy a place in it; amongst others, I remember I spake of y^e great licence y^e howse of Commons then tooke in ejecting members and declaring unknowne priviledges; but these, as what might give offence, were layd aside, and it was held nothing was fit to bee inserted might justly distast eyther howse.

25. The next day th' Assizes beegan, and y^e Judge, at an oportune tyme, eyther on hys owne inclination, considering y^e present distempers, or moeved by some other, told them, in other parts gentlemen of good accompt served in the Grand Jury; he would neyther command nor persuade any to the service, onely thought fit to acquaynt them wth it. Upon w^{ch}, after some small demur, divers embracing y^e mottion were returned, the first of whom was S^r Edward Dering. Now I shall desire any one to consider, whither this Petitioning was likely to have beene on designe of saying ought might mislike the Parlyament, when Sir Ed. Dering was y^e foreman; and whether wee, in likelyhood, were so absolute fooles as not to have dissuaded his meddling wth the charge, could we have mistrusted hys beeing of it, wth an intent of doing what they approoved not, beeing a person against whom (as beeing lately secluded by y^e Commons) some exceptions might lye; but our integrity was such, we never apprehended any thing of that nature; and, for my owne particular, I knewe so little whither there would bee any petitioning or not,

¹ The Hon. Richard Spencer, of Orpington, third son of Robert first Lord Spencer, of Wormleighton.—Ed.

² Since called Colonell Blunt, a great stickler for y^e two houses of Parl^{mt}.—T. He was the principal informer of the proceedings at Maidstone, an account of which he gave in evidence at the Bar of the House.—Ed.

as upon Wensday at noone, old S^r Henry Palmer asking me, I told hym truly I did not know.

26. Yet, that very day, towards night, S^r Edward Dering and his associates came to the Judge wth certayn bills of y^e Assize, and, wthall, acquaynted hym and the rest of y^e Bench the wishes of divers were to petition the Parl^{nt} from these Assizes, as other parts had done; that if we y^t sate there were willing to joyn wth them they should goe forward, otherwise leave it of. To w^{ch} Mr. Justice Mallet made answer, this was that did not at all concerne him as Judge of th' Assize, that he would leave them to consider of it wth y^e Justices of the Peace, and so, having no partner, went immediately to try causes in the other Court, the others easily assenting to y^e motion, and he after was committed to y^e Tower for not opposing it.¹

27. Amongst us, the question grewe, who should draw this Petition. It was concluded (truly upon my motion) the Grand Jury should nominate some of y^e Bench, and they some of y^e Grand Jury, to consider and doe it. Upon w^{ch}, such as were chosen of eyther side went together in a private lodging, of w^{ch} number I myselfe was one, where were presented unto us divers heads, of w^{ch} some were approved, some corrected, others expunged. I remember that in the second period, "for y^e children of Papists to have beene brought up in the reformed religion," to have beene added on S^r John Sedley's motion (perhaps the hardest and least justifiable

¹ "This Petition," says Clarendon, "was communicated by many to their friends, and copies thereof sent abroad before the Subscription was ready, whereupon the House of Peers took notice of it, as tending to some commotion in Kent; and in the Debate, the Earl of Bristol taking notice 'that he had seen a Copy of it, and had had some conference about it with Judge Mallet,' who was then Judge of Assize in Kent, and newly return'd out of his Circuit, both the Earl and the Judge, for having but seen the Petition, were presently committed to the Tower, and a Declaration published, 'that none should presume to deliver that, or the like Petition, to either House.'" (Clarendon's 'Hist. of the Rebellion,' book v. p. 382, folio edit. 1704.)—ED.

clause in y^e whole). The rest in generall agreeede upon, certayn gentlemen were nominated to meete after supper, it beeing now evening, to draw them in to y^e forme of a Petition. I was one of them, but could not attend the service, beeing my self y^t night very ille. Going to my lodging through the Star, I met Mr. Blount of Blackheath, whom I perceived not satisfyed wth y^t was intended, and he was the onely person I had seene so. I differd wth hym, but in w^{ht} particular I can not now call to mind; yet I was after, as I remember, questioned upon it.

28. That night the Petition was drawne, but by whome can not of certayn affirme. The next day, hearing it was concluded, I went wth Mr. Spencer to y^e Grand Jury, desiring such as had it remayning wth them would shew it us, that wee might as well agree to the expressions as the heads. Upon w^{ch}, all to whom the drawing of it was committed met at a private howse in the towne, where it was considered of and past, not wth out alterations. I shall onely remember two:—1st, in the fourth head, where it is sayd, “Episcopall government had beene deduced and dispersed through all y^e Christian world,” it was thought fit, by reason of what Gerundensis writes, of some parts of Spayn not admitting Bishops, to change the word “through all” to “throughout” the Christian world. ij^{ly}, In y^e 12 head, it was desired, “no order of eyther or both howses might bee enforced on y^e subject:” this, beeing conceived some limitation, was feared might be misliked, and was therefore thus qualified, “That no order of eyther or both howses, not grounded on the laws of y^e land,” etc.

29. In short, there was not ought excepted against by any person whatsoever but was at this meeting amended, and a resolution taken to propound it next day publicuely in y^e County, that if it wer liked it might bee delivered, w^{ch} was done, Augustine Skinner,¹ one of y^e knights of y^e shire, present, and shewing no

¹ In the margin here Sir Roger writes, “25 March, 1642.”—Augustine

distast at it ; and there again it receyved alterations. I shall instance in one : In the third period, where the solemne Liturgy of our Church was sayd “ to have beene celebrious by the piety of Holy Bishops and Martyrs who composed it,” to w^{ch} was added (following the statute 2^d and 3^d Ed. 6th cap. 1), “ by the ayd of y^e Holy Ghost.” This was excepted against, as what at this tyme might give offence. It was thought fit, therefore, to exclude the expression. After all w^{ch}, it beeing agreede unto *nemine contradicente* (and the Country expressing their desires for the expediting of it, to have us repayr to Captayn Skinner, Knight of the Shire, then present, and promising not only hys forwarding of it in y^e howse, but seeming to approve what had past), there grewe a question whither this petition should be represented from the County to y^e King, then at York. I declared myself against it, as beeing for y^e most what wee hoped, by the howse’s intercession, to obtayn of hys Ma^{ty}. Thus it was then finished : Yet, for that nothing humane is so perfect at first it can receive no amendment, tyme was taken tyll y^e next Quarter Sessions after Easter, then to retract, correct, delete any thing in it, if y^e Justices in their severall Divisions should find ought generally misliked, or the Country then publikely disclayme and disavoue what was thus assented to.

30. Heere, if¹ the people doe not chuse Knights and Burgesses (of whose power somewhat heereafter) wth an intent to redresse their grievances by lawes, and not to bee absolutely the Lords and Masters of their judgments, as well in what is amisse, as obedience to the laws they shall establish ; I should bee glad to learn how a County could possibly petition in a more regular, orderly, inof-

Skinner was of Totesham, in East Farleigh, and on Sir Edward Dering’s expulsion, had been substituted for him as Knight of the shire.—ED.

¹ Either “if” is intended to be used in the sense of “even if,”—“even supposing that the people did *not* choose,” etc., or “not” should be omitted, and the sentence should run thus, “if the people choose,” etc.—ED.

fensive way ; but for a private man, drawne into y^e service, wth an intent onely to doe it in a peaceable, humble manner, for such a purpos onely, relinquisht too, beeing misliked by those men by whom he was represented, to have all hee hath taken away by a forced equitable construction of a penall law, made “post factum,” is, I think, without paralel in Europe, though in tymes and by Courts of Justice, the most Tyrannicall. But beecause the world may see what this so heynous petition did conteyn, I shall heere set it down verbatim, as it was agreede upon at Maydstone, y^e 25 March, 1642.

31. To the hon^{ble} howse of Commons, the humble Petition of y^e Gentry, Ministers, and Commonalty of the County of Kent, agreede upon at the generall Assizes of that county.

Most humbly sheweth,

That wee can not but take notice how welcome to this hon^{ble} howse many Petitions have beene, w^{ch} yet came not from an assembled body of any County, as this doth, wee doe hope to find as gentle and as favorable reception of this as any others have found of their Petitions, our harts witnessing unto us as good, as peaceable, and as pious purposes as the best. These are therefore the true and the ardent desires of the County.

i. First, you will pleas to accept our due and harty thanks for those exelent lawes w^{ch} by hys Ma^{ties} grace and goodnesse you have obteyned for us.

ij. Secondly, that all lawes against Papists bee put in due execution, and accompt taken of their disarming ; and that all children of Papists may bee brought up in the reformed religion.

iiij. Thirdly, that the solemne Liturgy of the Church of England, celebrated by y^e Pyety of holy Bishops and Martyrs who composed it,—established by y^e supream law of y^e land,—attested and approved by y^e best of all forraign divines ; confirmed wth subscription of all the Ministry of this land, a Cleargy as learned and as able as any in the Christian world, enjoyed, and wth an holy love embraced, by y^e most and best of all y^e Layety ;—that this holy exercise of our religion may by your auctoryty bee enjoyed quiet and free from interruptious storms, prophanations, threats, and force of such men who dayly doe

deprave it, and neglect the use of it in diverse churches, in despite of the lawes established.

iiij. Fourthly, that Episcopall government, as auntient in this Island as Christianyty itself, deduced and dispersed throughout the Christian world even from y^e Apostolicall tyme, may be preserved as the most pious, most prudent, and most safe government for the peace of the Church.

v. Fifthly, that all differences concerning religion and Ceremonies may be referred to a lawfull, free, nationall Synode, and, as your Remonstrance¹ promiseth, a General Synod of most grave, learned, pious, and judicious divines, the proper Agents, whose Interests, guifts, and callings may quicken them in that great worke, whose choise to bee by all y^e Cleargy of the land, beecause all y^e Cleargy are to be bound by their resolutions; and y^e determinations of this Synod to bynd us all, when you have first formed them into a law; and this we take to bee according to y^e auntient fundamentall Lawes of this land, confirmed by Magna Charta.

vi. Sixthly, that some speedy and good provision may bee made, as by hys Ma^{ty} hath beene, and is by all good men desired, against y^e odious and abominable scandall of scismaticall and seditious sermons and pamphletts, and some severe lawe made against Laymen for daring to arrogate to themselves, and to exercise the holy function of y^e Ministry, who some of them do sowe their impious discontented doctrines even in sacred places, by abuse of sacred Ordinances, to y^e advancing of Heresy, scisme, prophanesse, Libertinisme, Anabaptisme, Atheisme.

vij. Seventhly, that if the coercive power of Ecclesiasticall Courts, by way of Excommunication, be allready abrogated, or shall bee thought fit so to bee, that there may bee some other power and auctoryty speedily established for the suppressing of the heynous and now so much abounding sinns of Incest, Adultery, Fornication, and other Crimes, and for y^e recovering of Tythes, Repayring of Churches, Probate of Wills, Church assesses, and providing of Bread and wine for y^e Communion, and choyce of Churchwardens and other offycers in y^e Church, and especyally for Ministers who neglect the celebrating of y^e holy Communion, and of Parishioners for not receiving.

¹ Remonstrance to y^e King, 15 December, 1641, of y^e state of y^e kingdom. Collect. of Orders. tom. i., p. 19.—T.

vijj. Eightly, that the professors of that learned faculty of y^e Civil Law, without w^{ch} this Kingdome cannot but suffer many inconvenyences, may not find discouragement, and so desert their studies and professions.

ix. Ninthly, that honor and profit, the powerfull encouragements of industry, learning, and piety, may bee preserved, wth out any farther diminution, to the Cleargy.

x. That you please sadly to consider the bleeding wounds of our bretheren in Ireland, and wth speedy succours indeavour to preserve them, whereunto hys Ma^{ty} hath promised a gracious concurrence.

xj. Eleventhly, that you please to frame an especiall law for the regulating y^e Militia of this kingdom, so that the subject may know how at once to obey both hys Ma^{tie} and the howses of Parliament, a law whereby may be left to y^e discretion of governors as little as may bee ; but that the number of Arms, and what measure of punishment shall bee inflicted on offenders, may bee expressly set downe in y^e Act, and not left to any arbytrary power ; and that, according to y^e presidents of former lawes, the offenders may not bee tryed out of y^e County.

xij. Twelfly, that the pretious Liberty of the subject, the Common birth-right of every Englishman, may bee, as in all other poynts preserved intire, so in this allso ; That no order of eyther or both howses, not grownded on y^e Lawes of y^e Land, may bee enforced on the subject, untill it be fully enacted by Parlyament.

xijj. Thirteenthly, that hys Ma^{ties} gracious message of the 20th of January last, for y^e present and future establishment of the priviledge of Parlyament, the free and quyat enjoying of our estates and fortunes, the Liberties of our persons, the security of the trwe religion professed, the mainteyning of hys Ma^{ties} just and royall auctoryty, the establishing of hys revenue, may bee taken into speedy consideration : the effecting whereof will satisfy the desires of all us hys faithfull and loving subjects.

xiv. Fourteenth, that all possible care may bee taken that y^e native commodities of the kingdome may have a quick vent ; and that clothing and other manufactures may bee improved, wherein the livelyhood of many thousands doe consist ; And that trade may bee so balanced that the importation doe not exceede y^e exportation, w^{ch} otherwise will in tyme prove the consumption of y^e kingdome.

xv. Fiefteenth, that you pleas to frame some lawes concerning depopulations, pourveyance, Cart-taking, delays in Justice, Traffick, Fishing on the coast, fulling earth, that our sea Ports may bee repayred, and our Magazines renewed.

xvj. Sixteenth, that you pleas to consider the generall poverty that seemes to overgrow the Land.

xvij. Lastly, we humbly beesech you to consider the sad condition that wee and the whole land are in, if a good understanding bee not speedily renewed beetween hys Ma^{ty} and the howses of Parlyament.

Our hopes are yet above our fears; secure them wee beseech you. God direct and blesse your consultations for y^e remoeving of all distrusts and jealousies, and for renewing that tye of confidence and trust w^{ch} is the highest happinesse beetween a most gracious Prince, and us his loving people.

And you shall have the dayly prayers of your humble Orators y^e Commons of Kent."

It is desired that whosoever doe deliver forth any copy, that he doe testyfy the same to bee a trwe Copy.

For y^e expediting this Petition, it is desired that the gentlemen in their severall Divisions doe agree upon one amongst themselves, to receive y^e Copies of all these Petitions, and all subscriptions, beetweene this and Easter Sessions at Maydstone; and that all y^e Gentry of Kent doe meete at Blackheath, on Fryday morning, the 29th of April, at nine of y^e clock, in the morning, at the farthest, from thence to accompany this petition to the howse.

This was all publicquely read, agreed unto, and concluded, at the Assizes at Maydstone, on the 25 March, 1642.

32. This is all that past at Maydstone, w^{ch} I have set downe with every particular, y^t after tymes (if at least this should outlive y^e present age) may judge whither the offence was of y^t transcendency, it were fit to cause any man, not otherwise culpable, to bee in sequestration (worse then a Premunire) to lye under a tedious and chargeable imprizonment, and whether nu^{rs} 12 and 13 may not deserve consideration in Parlyament for securing y^e subject in future. For my part I will not heere

call heaven nor earth to witnesse (for they that will not credit mee otherwise, will not doe it on these Protestations) I saw nothing of ille in this petition. Neither had I other intent in y^e assenting to it then that there might bee a fayr intelligence beeteene the King and the two howses, by their complying wth hys Ma^{ty}, wthout ever trying who was strongest, and the subject governed by Lawes, not by arbitrary revokable Votes, Orders, or Ordinances w^{ch} I did apprehend as a thing of great concernment, yet what I feared, if y^e difference continewed, might bee forced on us, and saw no probable way of preventing but by letting them understand a considerable part of y^e kingdome did not like to bee so ruled.

33. Yet I did not think this a petition no man would except against. There are severall men, and they will have severall minds whilst wee are on earth, and y^e desires and reasons of all are to be weighed by those to whom it properly beelongs to give remedy, elce I know not how to give the name of a Court of Justice to an howse of Commons, if it admit the desires and reasons of such onely as goe wth their sense to bee heard: but of this heereafter.

34. On Saturday y^e 26th of March, S^r Henry Vane, y^e elder,¹ then at Fayr Lane, sent unto mee to dyne wth hym. The next day I caryed wth me a Copy of the Petition; for being retyred home from th' Assizes, I had caused some to be draune and dispersed to my acquaintance, subscribing them according to the resolution there taken; one of these I caryed wth me and proffered M^r James,² who refused to accept it, and gave some reasons. He was y^e first y^t I met wth, beeing a person of integrity and judgment, that did not approve it. I did there professe I would not have joined in it did I conceive

¹ The celebrated Treasurer, whose seat was Fairlawn, in Wrotham; he was cousin-german to Sir Roger.—ED.

² Of the Court Lodge, Ightham.—ED.

any word in the whole against y^e good of y^e kingdome, or y^t could justly offend y^e howse of Commons. I remember one thing he excepted against was y^e not giving the howse enough expressions of thanks, but turning them wth reflection on y^e King for the good Lawes had beene lately past ; w^{ch} was done not to derogate any thing from them, but to joyn both together, in respect the law hath an especiall eye on y^e King in making of it. See Fitzherbert, Error 8.

35. Upon the 29th of March, beeing at my howse¹ in Kent, never expecting any such thing, I was arrested by an Order of the howse of Commons, bearing date y^e day beefore, dyrected thus:—

“To John Hunt, Esq^r, Serjeant at Arms, attending on y^e sayd Howse, hys Deputy or Deputies :—

By vertue of an Order this day made by the howse of Commons, These are to will and require you, your Deputy or Deputies, forthwith to make repayr to y^e severall abodes or dwellings of S^r Edward Dering, Kn^t and Baronet, S^r George Stroode, Kn^t, Richard Spencer, Esq^r, and S^r Roger Twysden, and them, there, and elsewhere, to apprehend, and bring beefore y^e sayd howse, as Delinquents, to answer such matters as shall be objected against them, and every of them. And for your so doing, this shall bee your sufficient warrant. Given under my hand, y^e 28th day of March, 1642. Annoque Regis Caroli Angliæ, etc., xvij.

W^m LENTALL.”

The day following, viz. y^e 30th of March, 1642, I was served wth a warrant from y^e howse of Peers of y^e 28th of y^e same month, directed to y^e Gentleman Usher attending y^e sayd howse, his deputy and deputies, and to all Mayors, Justices of Peace, Sheriffs, Constables, and other hys Ma^{ties} Officers, to be ayding and assisting to y^e sayd Gentleman Ushier and hys Deputies, to attach y^e bodies of S^r Edward Dering, Kn^t, S^r Roger Twysden, Baronet, S^r George Strood, Kn^t, and Richard Spencer,

¹ i. e. His seat, Roydon Hall, in East Peckham.—ED.

Esq^r, and bring them beefore the Lords and Commons in Parlya^{nt}, to answer such things as are objected against them, etc.

36. I have made the more particular mention of these two warrants, beecause they were the Basis or ground of all our sufferings, and to shew the House of Peers and Commons can order men to bee committed, wthout specifying the cause, w^{ch} is what I am suer I have heard enough condemned in others. See Cooke's Instit. 2, p. 52, § 4 the Cause.

37. The sayd 30th of March, Sr Edward Dering came unto me early in y^e morning, wth whom I went the same day to London, leaving my deere wife great wth child in y^e Country. The 31, beeing thursday, I yielded myselfe prisoner to y^e Sergeant. The 1 Aprill, I, with the rest (onely Sr Edward Dering, who then absented hymself, though after hee appeered, was examined, and again went away), was called in to the howse of Commons, examyned on some few questions, and all of us committed to y^e Sergeant of y^e Mase attending them, who sent us prisoners to an howse in Covent Garden, tyll wee could bee farther questioned by a Committee of Lords and Commons, appoynted for that service, who soone after did it, examyning us upon about 30 Interrogatories, upon w^{ch} nothing appeering against us, and our answers agreeing, so far as their could not, nor did ought appeere against us, but an intent onely of petitioning, and y^t too upon the Countrie's desires, the Howse of Commons, not satisfyed, would have us answer to some 9 Interrogatories upon Oath.

38. But how to doe this for men that had not cast of all shew of legall proceedings was not so easy; for themselves had declared against all oaths *ex officio*, and every man's mouth was full of y^e Maxime, "No man was obliged to accuse himselfe;" how could wee, then, bee brought by oath to accuse each other, beeing alike

criminall. Besides, who should doe it? For if it bee graunted (w^{ch} I beleeeve will bee a matter of much difficulty to prove), The Lords' howse, or my Lord Keeper in it, may in some cases administer an Oath to a Commoner, may a Committee of the Lords and Commons doe it? I conceive they had no president for doing so. Yet that was our case. Mr Spencer, S^r George Strood, and myselfe must upon oath have accused each other, though told wee were not to answer anything concerned ourselves. But our integryty was such, nothing of consequence could be discovered more then beefore. After this, they two (and S^r Edward Dering absent) were empeached. Of my charge a stoppe was made, w^{ch} after was layd aside as forgotten; and those two having by good advise put in their answer, there was no farther prosecution of them, onely wee were commanded to call in all y^e copies of this petition had beene by us distributed, w^{ch} was done accordingly.

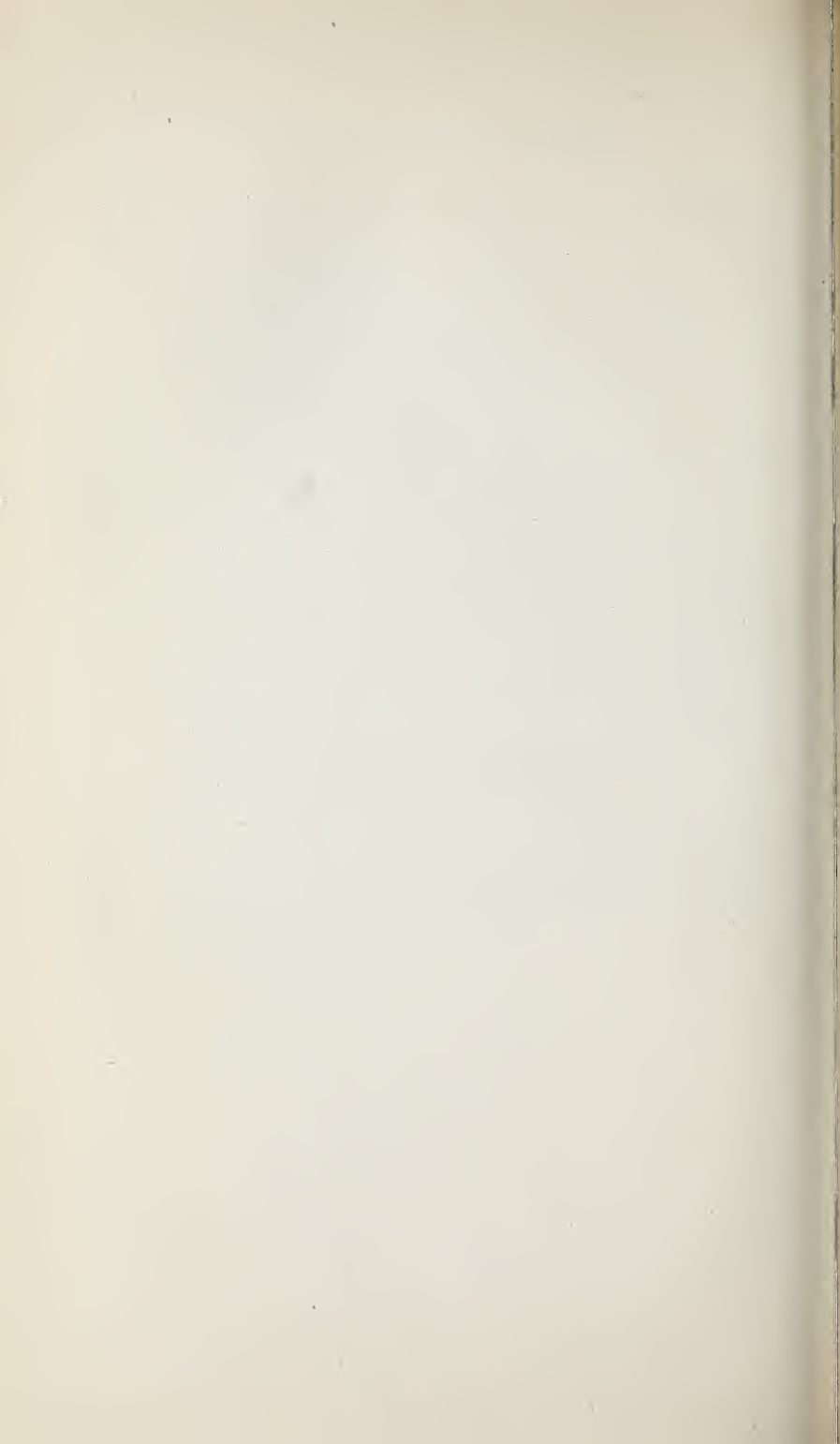
39. Some may, perhaps, admire why the two howses were so transcendently incenced at this petition? why they laboured so earnestly the finding out a plot w^{ch} was never imagined? why they tooke so unheard of wayes in their proceedings? for when ever did the howse of Commons appoynt theyr members to joyn wth y^e Lords in examining Commoners upon oath, much lesse such as were *criminis participes*, one against y^e other? Why they shewde so strange partialtyty as to incourage petitioning in some, yet make this a crime so heynous, as it is certayn a lawyer¹ of the Howse went so far as to say there were in it things not far from treason? and another gentleman² of, I dare say, sincere and pious intentions, told me, defending it, I did not understand the ayme of that Petition; to whom I could onely wish the event might prove me y^e foole.

¹ Mr. George Peard, of the Inner Temple.—T.

² Mr. Rich. Browne, of Great Chart.—T.

40. But he will not think it strange, when he considers (as y^e issue made good) y^e leading men in the Howses had an intent themselves to govern y^e nation by votes, paper Orders, and Ordenances, wth w^{ch}, if the King should not concur, or any other oppose, they would force obedience by the sword, w^{ch} this did a little too soone discover (they having no army, nor in a settled way of raying one), and might open men's eies, break their credit, and make them (by whose contributions they must bee at first enabled) lesse willingly contribute to their owne ruine. For these men, presently after the perpetuity graunted, resolved on a change in Church and State, swallowed up all Episcopall, and Dean and Chapters' revenues; yet, not to lose y^e Cleargy totally, persuaded such of them as had beene any way kept under by the Bishops, it should bee distributed for y^e improvement of smaller livings, increasing able preachers, raying lectures, and y^e like; and this they did not doubt of effecting wthout the considerable opposition of any, unless perhaps the episcopall party in y^e Lords' Howse, w^{ch} being now removed thense, it angred them greatly to see others in any kind thuart their designes, w^{ch} they saw this Petition to doe.

PEDES FINIUM.



PEDES FINIUM.



It seems very desirable that one portion of our annual Volume should be appropriated to the registration of such of our Public Records as evidence the alienations and descent of lands and manors, and the genealogy of our leading families, from the earliest times.

Documents of this character are of prominent interest to any County Collection; but in Kent, as will be more fully explained, when we come to the “*Inquisitiones post Mortem*,” they are of incalculable value. By them we are able to prove, in many instances, which of our manors and lands are exempted from the operation of Gavelkind. Many an estate has been lost to the eldest male heir by want of knowledge of the information contained in these records; and we trust that, in this respect, the pages of ‘*Archæologia Cantiana*’ will be of great use to the legal profession, and to heirs of intestate proprietors. They will do more,—they will be rendering actual national service, by placing upon permanent record muniments that must remain in a perishable and precarious condition, as long as they exist only in manuscript,—and we shall be setting an example which we trust may be followed by all kindred societies, now so numerous throughout the kingdom.

The earliest evidences which we have, after Domesday, are the Pipe Rolls, which commence with the reign of

Henry II. The next, in order of time, are the Plea Rolls and Pedes Finium, which begin in the reign of Richard I. When we reach the reigns of John and of Henry III., our materials become more abundant; we then have great resources in the Close and Patent Rolls, the Fine Rolls, the Memoranda Rolls, the Inquisitiones post Mortem, etc. etc.

As to the earlier of these Records, the Pipe Rolls, it at first occurred to us that a series of them might be beneficially introduced into our "Archæologia;" but the idea was soon abandoned, for, as these Rolls are in themselves long, and occur yearly in unbroken succession, they appear better suited for separate publication, than for periodical admission into our Journal. Certainly not more than one Roll could be given at any one time, and, as each Roll belongs to a single year, it is at once evident that the progress of publication would be too slow to be of any immediate value in elucidating County History: we shall better serve our purposes by furnishing a series of the "Pedes Finium" and "Inquisitiones post Mortem," which relate to this County, from their commencement, occasionally giving extracts from the Close, Patent, Memoranda, and other Rolls.

To begin with the Pedes Finium. We cannot better introduce them than by an abstract from Cruise's history of their nature and origin:—

"When property first became the subject of alienation, it was found necessary to adopt some authentic mode of transfer which might secure the possession, and evince the title of the purchaser.

"By the ancient Common Law, a Charter of Feoffment was, in general, the only written instrument whereby lands were transferred or conveyed. But, although this assurance derived great authenticity from the number of witnesses by whom it was usually attested, and from the solemn and public manner in which livery of seisin

was formerly given, yet still it may be supposed that inconveniences would frequently arise, either from the loss of the charter itself, or from the difficulty of proving it after a lapse of years.

“These circumstances probably induced men to look out for some other species of assurance which should be more solemn, more lasting, and more easy to be proved than a charter of feoffment.

“Experience must soon have discovered that no title could be so secure and notorious as that which had been questioned by an adverse party, and ratified by the determination of a court of justice; and the ingenuity of mankind soon found out the method of drawing the same advantages from a fictitious process.

“To effect this purpose, the following plan was adopted; a suit was commenced concerning the lands intended to be conveyed, and when the writ was sued out, and the parties appeared in court, a composition of the suit was entered into, with the consent of the judges, whereby the lands in question were acknowledged to be the right of one of the contending parties.¹

“This agreement, being reduced into writing, was enrolled among the records of the Court, where it was preserved by the public officer, by which means it was not so liable to be lost or defaced as a Charter of Feoffment, and would at all times prove itself; and, being substituted in place of the sentence which would have been given in case the suit had not been compounded, it was to be held of equal force with the judgment of a court of justice.”

Such is the perspicuous account which Cruise has given of the nature and origin of the legal process of “levying a fine,” as cited by Mr. Hunter in his learned preface to the “*Pedes Finium*” edited by him under the direction of the Commissioners of the Public Records.

It will be observed that the form of acknowledgment in the different Fines is very variable. To explain this we must refer our readers to Blackstone (book ii. c. 21) for a minute description of the four different kinds of Fines, and the names by which they were respectively designated. It will be sufficient here to state that in—

1. “The deforciant, or cognizor, acknowledges a former feoffment to have been made by him to the cognizee, or plaintiff, in order to avoid the formality of an actual feoffment.

2. “The cognizor merely acknowledges the right to be in the cognizee, without naming any preceding gift.

3. “The cognizor acknowledges the right to be in the cognizee; and grants, for himself and his heirs, that the reversion, after the particular estate determines, shall go to the cognizee. This sort of Fine was commonly used to pass a reversionary interest which was in the cognizor; because of such reversions, there could be no feoffment supposed, as the possession at the time belonged to a third person.

4. “The cognizee, after the right was acknowledged to be in him, granted back again to the cognizor, or perhaps to some stranger, some estate in the premises.”

Thus much it is necessary to cite from Blackstone's treatise, in order to explain the varied forms in which the Fines appear, and to help the genealogist and topographer in deducing his information from the particular Fine that may be before him. For the rest, the reader will consult with advantage the passage from which these extracts are taken.

But it was not merely to the transfer of landed property that this process was confined.¹ It was the mode adopted for recording all contracts, and the settlement

¹ Dugdale, in his ‘Origines,’ cap. 33, lays it down, that this kind of “solemn memorial” was anciently adopted for “the better manifesting the tenor of any contract upon bargains and sales, or other conclusion,

of every kind of difference between two parties; as will be abundantly proved in the series of these instruments which we propose to print. Of this character appear to be the Fines Nos. 17 and 25 *infra*.

“Why a record of this description,” says Mr. Hunter, “should have acquired the name of ‘Finis,’ or ‘Fine,’ is easily explained. The very nature of the document is, that it relates the END, or the FINISHING of litigation, real or feigned. The first clause in the document is, ‘Hæc est FINALIS concordia,’ etc., and towards the close we have the words, ‘Et pro hoc FINE et concordia,’ etc.”

“When the Courts condescended to allow themselves to be thus called in to determine controversies that were merely feigned, is a question of legal antiquarianism, which is considered by many as still undetermined. The great current of authority undoubtedly runs in favour of the opinion that the practice arises out of the usages of our remote ancestors.”¹

Our limited space will not allow us to follow Mr. Hunter through his learned and elaborate arguments on this point. Referring our inquiring readers to the work itself for all that can possibly be educed on the subject, it will be sufficient for us here to state generally that, prior to the seventh year of King Richard I. there are only five Fines extant, viz. four of the latter part of the reign of Henry II. and one of the fourth or fifth of Richard I., transcripts of which are given by Mr. Hunter.

in what case soever;” and he cites Glanvil as stating (lib. viii. cap. 1), in reference to these Fines, that “disputes moved in the King’s Court are by FINAL CONCORD terminated; but it then is by consent and leave of the King, or his Justiciar, upon what occasion soever the difference be.”

¹ “Fines, indeed,” says Blackstone, “are of equal antiquity with the first rudiments of the law itself; are spoken of by Glanvil (lib. viii. c. 1) and Bracton (lib. v. t. v. c. 28), in the reigns of Henry II. and Henry III., as things then well known and long established; and instances have been produced of them even prior to the Norman invasion (Plowden, 369).” Book ii. c. 21. These assertions, however, are somewhat controverted by Mr. Hunter.

“From the seventh year of King Richard I. only, is there any large collection of documents of this class extant, or anything which can be called a consecutive series of them. From that time to the present day, the series may be said to be unbroken; not but that some Fines which once no doubt existed cannot now be produced, and there are, perhaps, a few years, such as the two last years of the reign of John, in which, either no Fines were levied, or the record of them has wholly perished. But so many remain of the seventh of Richard I., and of almost every year from that time downward, that we may justly speak of possessing a series of documents of this class from the seventh of Richard I. to the present time.”

Of these Records we purpose to print in our successive volumes a continued series of all that remain in the Office relating to Kent. They commence in the above-named year, viz., the seventh of Richard I. That which is numbered No. 1 in the Office, has no lunar date. There being, therefore, nothing to determine the correctness, or otherwise, of the Office number, we leave it as it stands, No. 1; but in those instances which have a precise date recorded, we have departed from the Office arrangement, and placed them, as far as we have been able, in their precise order of date. With regard to this point, we are desirous of referring to Mr. Hunter's observation as to the principle which guided him in his publication. In the Office, he tells us, the Fines are all arranged in counties, and according to the years of the reigns of the different kings; there is no difficulty, therefore, as to the year; but it is not always an easy task to settle the chronological arrangement of the Fines in each particular year, according to the actual days on which they were levied. The practice of the Office seems to have been determined by no definite rules; “on the whole, it appears uncertain what was

intended, and certainly little or no use can now be made of the office numerals."

Mr. Hunter acknowledges the use he had made of Nicolas's Chronological Tables in rectifying the order of the Fines, and we can hardly be far wrong in following the same guidance.

Departing therefore from the Office numerals, we have arranged our transcripts in their exact order of date, according to Sir Harris Nicolas's authority.

As to the form of printing which we have adopted, we would observe that, although very numerous instances occur in which it is impossible to decide with certainty how a particular contraction would have been really dilated by the original scribe had he been required to write the entire words; yet the contracted form is so very repulsive to most readers, and the doubtful cases can so easily be recorded in a note, that we have determined to print our transcripts "in extenso."

We have also departed from the continued unbroken lines of the originals, for the convenience of reference, and have separated the different parts of the Fine into distinct paragraphs. So again as to capital letters, following Mr. Hunter's example, who states truly that "in the original the use of the capital letter was evidently regulated by no fixed principles, we have retained it in the names of persons, places, and festivals," and wherever "it appeared to facilitate the reading of the Record,—not to render that which was perhaps somewhat dark, still more obscure. In respect of the punctuation, the scribes, admirable masters as they appear to have been in most respects of their art, seem to have proceeded without design and without system." We have therefore introduced entirely our own punctuation, except in some few cases where the punctuation of the scribe seems to be important.

It would be superfluous here to remind the antiqua-

rian reader that the minims can only be determined by the context; and, in proper names, the correct reading must be obtained from other sources than the document immediately before us; so also with the small *t* and *c*, which "are formed in many instances by precisely the same trace of the style."

Before we leave Mr. Hunter's admirable preface, it may be well to quote a portion of what he says with regard to the four distinct portions into which the Fine was divided.

"I. The declaration of the Place at which the Fine was levied, of the Time, and of the Persons who composed the Court."

1. As to Place. "The Fines which are deposited among the Public Records of the realm were, it is believed, all levied in the Curia Regis."

This Court was "moveable; it accompanied the King, or it existed in the provinces in the form of a Court in which presided Justices Itinerant, who seem to have been in those early times, as now, commissioned to hold Courts in various places by the King."

2. As to Time. "The dates of the Fines are always given with great exactness," and in this respect have a great advantage over the common feoffment deeds, "which rarely have any date till we come to the reign of Edward I., a century later than the time when the Fines first occur."

3. As to the Persons who composed the Court. "The names of the persons before whom the Fines were levied are, in every Fine, set forth at length." "This part of the Fine shows who were the persons engaged in the public administration of justice, and it is, in fact, chiefly from these lists that Dugdale has compiled the tables of the Justices in his 'Origines,' from which other catalogues of Justiciars and Justices have been formed."

"The King was often himself present. When that

was the case, the expression *coram ipso domino Rege* is used," and Mr. Hunter goes on to prove that this was a real presence, and not a fictitious presence by a deputy.

"II. The second portion of the Fine contains the names of the parties between whom the supposed suit takes place, and a specification of the lands, advowsons, rents, or other matters which are the subject of the transfer [or agreement]. The parties are called the *Petentes* and *Tenentes*, and sometimes the *Querentes* and *Deformiantes*. In the early Fines these terms rarely occur. Sometimes the parties appear by a representative, and this is generally the case with the religious communities, who appoint one of their own body as their attorney to proceed with the case, and he is, as the expression is, 'positum loco suo ad lucrandum vel perdendum.' The description of the premises is generally short, the name of the Township or Manor in which the lands are situated being held a sufficient description, as 'a rent of two marks and a half in Harty,' 'one solin of land in East Ratling,' etc., 'eight acres of meadow in Sutton,' etc.; and it is rather in the latter part of the Fine, when the reservations are spoken of, that we have any minute particulars concerning the lands. But, in many of the Fines, there are particular facts or circumstances set forth when the lands are first mentioned, and these are sometimes of an interesting character.

"III. The third portion of the Fine is the plea and the concession made by one of the parties. The form is often no more than this: 'Unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata curia,' the simple assertion that a plea was raised between the parties; but "not unfrequently the supposed action proceeds upon some special plea, as 'placitum warantiæ cartæ,' etc. etc. All these pleas will be noticed specially as they occur, and we need not stop to enumerate them here, except to observe that, in a "few instances, there was a special point on which the

judgment of the Court was supposed to be taken, as, whether certain lands were a lay fee, or held in pure and perpetual alms. After stating that issue had been joined, the judgment, or declaration, follows, in which the lands, or other possessions, are declared to belong to the party to whom the conveyance was intended to be made."

"IV. In the fourth and last division we have the consideration given by the other party for the matter which is conveyed, or the service by which it was to be held, with accounts of the reservations made by the party making the grant. Sometimes, in this clause of the Fine, we find [not a money payment, but] lands granted by the party who had taken the other lands specified in the body of the Fine, so as to give to the transaction the character of an exchange."

Having now deduced from Mr. Hunter's lucid observations upon these documents sufficient to make any ordinary reader master of the subject, we cannot conclude these preliminary remarks better than by citing the same learned writer's observations as to the nature and value of the information to be obtained from these Fines. "Whoever," he says, "looks herein for facts, which, singly considered, are of a striking character, will assuredly be disappointed. The subject [before us] is the exchange of property, the passing of manors, advowsons, and lands, from hand to hand; the chief changes, in short, in respect of the possession of these things [from the reign of Richard I. downwards]. This, from its very nature, does not present single points on which the mind can rest, and discern in them matter of high importance. It is in the *multitude* of these facts, in the notices which the Fines contain of innumerable persons, perhaps only to be found here, in whom possession of manors or churches inhered in the earliest times;—in the notices of partitions of estates among

coheirs, with the marriages of those coheirs;—in the mention of the wives, a species of information which is almost peculiar to the Fine;—in the innumerable local terms which occur in them;—in the notices which they not unfrequently contain of dependencies and connections between contiguous properties, important, perhaps, in the adjustment of rights, even in the present day;—in the mention which they contain of the course of the ancient roads of the kingdom;—in the notices which they contain of peculiar services, peculiar customs, and the habits of a state of society which has long passed away;—in the view which they present of the progressive accumulation of property in the hands of the religious, and the frequent mention which they make of the superiors of the communities of the religious, of whom a catalogue, almost complete, might be made from this species of document alone;—it is these things (which, singly, are perhaps of no great moment) which give the value to [this] species of document. We may add, that each Fine is also the basis, the secure and venerable foundation, on which some interest of the present day may be resting.”

The above extracts will, we trust, prove a sufficient warrant for our setting apart so large a portion of our Volume for the publication of these Fines. They shall be given in regular series, from the first, without a single omission; and, although we cannot pretend to say that they will furnish a complete registry of all the alienations of property made in the years to which they respectively belong,—or it was only those, in the effecting of which the parties chose to secure themselves by a fictitious suit, that are here made matter of record, and even of these, in the lapse of ages many must have perished,—yet we shall have the satisfaction of giving to our readers every particle of evidence of this nature, which is yet extant among the National Records. The

testimony which these Fines give to the alienations which they record is undeniable, and can never, by any possibility, be impugned; so that, in fact, we shall have here as complete a registry as can be obtained of all the changes of property which have been made from the days which are technically called "beyond the memory of man."¹

I.

[Westminster, 1195 or 1196.]

(Warin Tirel and Mabil his wife grant to Rohais de Haia the third part of a mill in Dartford, in dower, for her life, to hold of them by service of one twentieth part of a knight's-fee. The said Rohaisia to sustain the charges of her third part. At her death, to revert to them and their heirs.)

. . . . In Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, in crastino sancti [anno]² Ricardi vij^o.

Coram H. Cantuariensi³ Archiepiscopo et R. Londinensi⁴ et W. de Sancte Marie Ecclesia, et R. Eliensi Archidiacono et Osberto filio Herveii G. de Bocland, Justiciariis domini regis ibidem tunc presentibus.

Inter ROHAISIAM DE HAIA [et] HAIA, positum loco ejusdem ROHAISIE ad lucrandum vel perdendum, et WARINUM TIREL et MABILIAM [tenen]tes.

De j molendino in DERENTFORD.

¹ To complete our reader's acquaintance with these records, we have given a facsimile of one of the earliest, which will be found at p. 249, No. 18; and for the convenience of those who may not be familiar with the language of middle-age Latinity, we have prefixed to each Fine the substance of its extracts in plain English, and have appended the genealogies which appear deducible from the record.

² The words in brackets are applied conjecturally from other Fines or context.

³ *i.e.* Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, and Lord Chief Justice.

⁴ Richard Nigellus, Bishop of London, Lord Treasurer.

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in Curia prefata, scilicet quod predicti WARINUS et MABILIA concesserunt eidem ROHAISIE, terciam partem totius predicti molendini, tenendam in dotem, in totam vitam ejusdem ROHAISIE, per servicium vicesimo partis j militis, de illis et de heredibus suis. Et eadem ROHAISIA sustinebit custamenta tercie partis predicti molendini. Et post decessum ipsius ROHAISIE, predicta tercia pars predicti molendini revertetur ad predictos WARINUM et MABILIAM et ad heredes suos.

Warin Tirel = Mabil.

II.

[Westminster, 1195 or 1196.]

(Stephen de Mortestorn and Albrea his wife for ever quitclaim to Richard de Vabadun and Aveline his wife, sister of said Albrea, and their heirs, all right in the ville of Shipborne, for thirteen marks.)

. . . . Facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die Veneris anno regni Regis Ricardi vij^o.

Coram H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo G. Roffensi, Episcopis, et H. Bardulf, et Willelmo Briwer et et Ricardo Barre, et Osberto filio Hervi, et Ricardo de Herierd, et de Husseburn, Justiciariis domini Regis, et multis aliis fidelibus ibidem tunc presentibus.

Inter STEPHANUM DE MOESTORN, et ALBREAM uxorem et RICARDUM DE VABADUN, et AVELINAM uxorem ejus, tenentes.

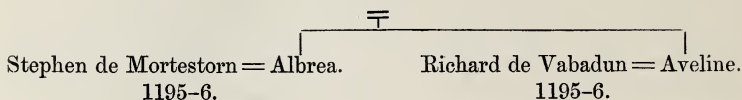
De villa [de SIB]BURN cum pertinentiis suis.¹

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in Curia prefata, scilicet quod predicti STEPHANUS et ALBREA quietum clamaverunt in perpetuum, de se et de heredibus eorum, totum jus et clamium quod habuerunt in predicta villa de Sibburn, et in pertinentiis suis, predictis RICARDO et AVELINE sorori predictae ALBREE, et heredibus eorum.

Et pro hac quieti clamancia, et fine, et concordia, predicti

¹ This Fine furnishes an earlier owner to Shipborne than is noticed by Hasted.

RICARDUS et AVELINA dederunt predictis STEPHANO et ALBREE
xiiij marcas argenti.



III.—(4.)¹

[1195 or 1196, 7 Ric. I.]

(Henry Fitz Ingilram quitclaims to Hugh Fitz Umfrey and Thomas brother of said Hugh, and their heirs for ever, all right in half the land of Criston, for eighteen marks.)

. . . . Finalis Concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die Veneris proxima anno regni Regis Ricardi vij^o.

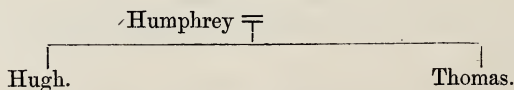
Coram H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, R. Londinensi, . . .
. . . Eliensi Archidiacono, Osberto filio Heruic, Simone de Pati-
sill, Ricardo de Herierd, et aliis fidelibus domini Regis tunc ibi
presentibus.

Inter HENRICUM filium INGILRAMI petentem, et HUGONEM fili-
um UMFRIDI et THOMAM, fratrem ejusdem HUGONIS, tenentes.

De medietate terre de CRISTON cum pertinentiis.

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, videlicet, quod
predictus HENRICUS quietum clamavit totum jus et clamium suum
quod habuit in predicta terra, cum pertinentiis, a se et heredi-
bus suis, predictis HUGONIS et THOME, et heredibus eorum, in
perpetuum.

Et pro hac fine, et concordia, et quieta clamancia, prefati HUGO
et THOMAS dederunt eidem HENRICO octodecim marcas argenti.



¹ The number within brackets designates the Office numeral.

IV.—(3.)

[9th December, 1195, 7 Ric. I.]

(William de Mohesden, Amicia his wife, pls., Warin Tirel and Mabilia his wife, defs., concerning their purparts of land, manorial rights, etc., etc., in Parva Dartford, etc., the said Mabilia and Amicia being sisters of William de Gorun, who had sold the land to Richard de Heriat and Alice his wife.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die Sabbati proxima post festum Sancti Nicholai, anno regni Regis Ricardi vijº.

Coram H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, R. Londinensi, G. Roffensi, H. Salisburiensi Episcopis, Willelmo de Sancta Marie Ecclesia, R. Herefordensi, et R. Eliensi, Archidiaconis, Willelmo de Richemont, Osberto filio Heruei, Ricardo de Heriat, Simone de Patishill, Justiciariis domini Regis, et multis aliis fidelibus domini Regis tunc ibidem presentibus.

Inter WILLELMUM DE MOHESDEN et AMICIAM uxorem suam, petentes, et WARINUM TIREL, et MABILIAM uxorem suam, tenentes.

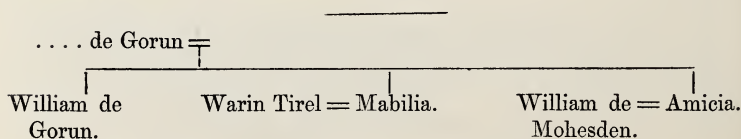
De Parva DERTEFORD cum pertinentiis.

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, et unde ipsa AMICIA petebat partem versus eandem MABILIAM, sicut versus sororem suam primogenitam scilicet quod idem WILLELMUS et A et quietas clamaverunt de se, et de heredibus suis, totas duas partes predictæ Derteford, in dominicis et terris lucrabilibus et redditibus et homagiis ndinis et in omnibus aliis rebus cum pertinentiis, et capitale mesuagium, et molendinum quod Rengerus molendinarius tenuit. Tenenda ipsis War. . . .

Et pro hac dimissione et quietâ clamancia, idem WARINUS et MABILIA dederunt et concesserunt totam terciam partem predictæ Derteford supradictum mesuagium et molendinum: Tenenda ipsis WILLELMO et AMICIE, et heredibus eorum, faciendo inde medietatem servicii quod totum illud feudum debet Isti vero homines, et tenementa, et homagia, et servicia eorum, sunt in terciâ parte WILLELMI et AMICIE. Simon filius Heruei, et Felicia que fuit uxor [Willelmi de Porta, et Elena] que fuit uxor Hugonis clerici, et Robertus Armiger, et Agnes que fuit uxor Gaufridi Armigeri, et Elias Coleman, et

Elena que fuit uxor Willelmi fili et [Alanus Vinetarius], et Eldred, et Alicia que fuit uxor HUGONIS molendinarii, et Reginaldus Fullonus, et Ricardus filius Mathei, et Simon clericus, de feudo unde ipse reddit decem et [octo denarios per annum et] in feudo Gerardi fabri decem denarios, salvo homagio quod inde facit ipse Gerardus WARINO et MABILIE, cum alio servicio, et tertia pars in molendino [ante portam]. Et pro tenementis, et homagiis, et serviciis Thome clerici, et Ricardi filii Orgar, ipse WARINUS et MABILIA dederunt WILLELMO et AMICIE in escambium, quatuor acras terre . . dominico suo, in TRUELINGE, et unam acram terre, de dominico suo, in GORSINDON, et præter illud escambium habent idem WILLELMUS et AMICIA, de dominico, in partem suam, tredecim acras terre in predicta TRUELINGE propinquiores predictæ GORSINDON, et tredecim acras terre in eadem GORSINDON versus orientem, et quinque acras et dimidiam terre in eadem TRUELINGE propinquiores KINGESLAND, et septem acras terre inter aquam et chimum, et septem acras terre super chimum propinquiores MAGNE DERTFORD, et quinque acras de terra quam Robertus filius Philippi tenuit, versus orientem, et decem et octo acras terre in cultura Phoracr, versus orientem, et duas acras terre, una percha minus, in GENESTEIO, et novem acras alneti in Nordbore, versus West, et viam ad sequendum pasturam, et quatuor acras alneti in Sudbore, versus West, et septem acras [prati] in Flodmed.

Et pro ista dimissione, et quietâ clamancia, fine, et concordia, ipse WARINUS et MABILIA adquisierunt eundem WILLELMUM et AMICIAM, de quinquaginta libris sterlingorum versus RICARDUM DE HERIAT et ALICIAM uxorem suam, cui ALICIE, WILLELMUS DE GORUN, frater earundem AMICIE et MABILIE, vendidit totam predictam terram cum pertinenciis.



Richard de Heriat = Alice.

V.—(7.)

[16th January, 1195-6, 7 Ric. I.]

(Gervas de Ofspringes delivers to Emma de Crevequer, a rent of two and a half marks in Harty, in dower, for which the said Emma quitclaims her claim of dower against him and Henry de Ofspringes, for ten librates of land, and thirty marks sterling.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium die Martis proxima post festum Sancti Hy-larii, anno regni Regis Ricardi vij^o.

Coram H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Ricardo Eliensi Archidiacono, magistro Thoma de Usseburn, Ricardo de Heriet, Simone de Pateshull, Ogero filio Ogeri, et aliis fidelibus domini Regis ibidem tunc presentibus.

Inter EMMAM DE CREUEQUER petentem, et GERVASIUM DE OFSPRINGES tenentem.

[De] Reditu duarum marcarum et dimidie, in HERTAIE.

Per HENRICUM DE OFSPRINGES, positum loco ipsius GERVASII, ad lucrandum vel perdendum.

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet, quod predictus GERVASIUS tradidit predicte EMME, predictum redditum, pro dote quoad vixerit.

Et pro hoc fine, et concordia, predicta EMMA quietas clamavit x libratas terre,¹ et xxx marcas esterlingorum quas clamavit versus eos in dotem.

VI.

[10th May, 1196, 7 Ric. I.]

(Thomas de Dene and Harlewin his brother (in a plea under a writ of right) quitclaim to Thomas de Godwinestone [*i.e.* Goodnestone, or Gunston] one soling and a half of land in East Ratling, for which he gives them six marks, and eighteen acres and a quarter in a field called Uikham (to be held of said Thomas de Godwinestone by fourpence per annum), and six marks sterling.)

..... cordia facta, in Curia domini Regis apud West-

¹ *i.e.* Land worth £10 per annum.

monasterium, die Jovis proxima post Inventionem Sancte Crucis, anno regni Regis Ricardi vij^o.

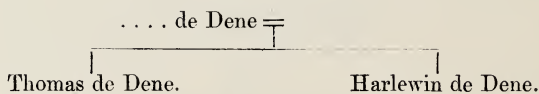
Coram H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, et G. Roffensi, Episcopis, H. Cantuariensi, et R. Herefordensi, et R. Elyensi Archidiaconis, Comite Rogero Bigot, G. filio Petri, Osberto filio Hervei, Willelmo Heriet, Simone de Patishull, Thoma de Husebourne, et aliis Baronibus et fidelibus domini Regis ibidem tunc presentibus.

Inter THOMAM DE DENE et HARLEWINUM petentes, et THOMAM DE GODWINESTONE, tenentem.

De una sollinga¹ terre et dimidia, cum pertinenciis, in ESTRETILING.

Unde placitum fuit inter eos domini Regis, per breve de recto, quod predicti THOMAS et HERLEWINUS quietum clamaverunt in perpetuum, de se et heredibus suis, totum jus, et cladium suum quod clamaverunt, in predicta terra, cum pertinentiis, in ESTRETILING, predicto Thome et heredibus suis.

Et pro hac quieta clamancia, fine, et concordia, dedit predictus THOMAS DE GODWINESTONE predictis fratri ejus, xvij acras terre, et unam virgatam, cum pertinenciis, in campo qui appellatur UIKHAM,² tenendas in perpetuum ipsis et heredibus suis de THOMA DE GODWINESTON, et heredibus suis, solvendo per annum iiij^d, pro servicio, in festo Sancti Michaelis. Et preterea, idem THOMAS DE GODWINESTONE predictis THOME et HARLEWINO fratri ejus, vi marcas sterlingorum.



¹ Solinga, a Solin, a measure of land peculiar to Kent. In Domesday we have, "In communi terra Sancti Martini sunt cccc acre et dim., quæ fiunt duos solinos et dimid." Agard considers that *dim.* refers to "hundred," and not to "acre," which makes the passage tantamount to "450 acres being equal to two and a-half Solins;" thus the Solin would be 180 acres, but he considers it to be, "after English account," 216 acres, and "after Norman tale," 180 acres.

² Uikham? We have represented the three minims with which the word commences, by Ui.

VII.—(5.)

[12th May, 1196, 7 Ric. I.]

(The Abbot and Convent of Boxley quitclaim to Osbert de Longchamp and Aveline his wife the land of Wenhella [*i.e.* Ovenhill], for which the said Osbert and Aveline give them six marks; also two shillings rent in Cuciddemill, so that the only claim of Osbert and Aveline therein shall be the “muletura” of their house in Helinton [*i.e.* Allington]; also two shillings yearly from the land of Oxefrid, from which Aveline’s ancestors only paid one shilling. They also release to the Abbot and Convent the right which they claimed in the houses of Paris, Archdeacon of Rochester, on the Thames, in London, and the right which they claimed in the tene-ment of the park-keepers of Boxley. They also grant to the monks the right of free fishing in the Medway opposite their land.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, dominica tercia post Pascham, anno regni Regis Ricardi vij^o.

. et G. Roffensi, Episcopis, et R. Herefordensi, et R. Eliensi, Archidiaconis, Thoma de Husseburn, Osberto filio Hervic erd, tunc Justiciariis, et aliis fidelibus domini Regis tunc ibi presentibus.

Inter R. ABBATEM de BOXELE, et Conventum et OSBERTUM de LONGO CAMPO et AVELINAM uxorem ejus, tenentes, per eundem Osbertum, positum loco suo ad lucrandum vel per-dendum.

De terra de [WENHELLA].

. fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet, quod predic-tus ABBAS et CONVENTUS de BOXELE quietum clamaverunt pre-fatis OSBERTO et AVELINE, . . . suis totum jus et clamium quod habuerunt in predicta terra de WENHELLA,¹ cum pertinenciis.

Et pro hac fine et concordia et quietamclamancia, et AVELINA uxor ejus, dederunt jam dicto ABBATI et CON-VENTUI vj marcas sterlingorum. Et preterea, dederunt eis, in puram et perpetuam elemosynam, ij solidos de redditu in molendino de CUCIDDEMIILE, annuatim solvendos, ad ij termi-nos, scilicet, ad Pascham, medietatem, et aliam medietatem, ad festum Sancti Michaelis. Ita quod OSBERTUS et AVELINA, vel heredes sui, nichil poterunt clamare in predicto molendino, nisi mulcturam domus proprie de HELINTON.² Et si conquerantur

¹ This is the manor afterwards called Ovenhill, in Boxley.

² Allington Castle.

de non legitima mulctura, Abbas predicti loci justiciabit molen-
darios suos, super hoc, in Curia sua. Preterea dabunt annua-
tim, illi et heredes sui, prefatis ABBATI et CONVENTUI, ij solidos
de terra de OXEFRID, de qua antecessores predictae AVELINE
dabant annuatim xij denarios. Quietum etiam clamaverunt
prefatis ABBATI et CONVENTUI, a se et heredibus suis, totum jus
quod dicebant se habere in domibus PARIDIS, Roffensis Archi-
diaconi, in LONDON, super Tamisiam, et etiam illud clamium et
jus suum quod dicebant se habere in tenemento parcariorum de
BOXELE. Preterea, concesserunt monachis libere et quiete pis-
cari in Medweia contra terram suam.

Osbert de Longchamp = Aveline.¹

VIII.—(13.)

[23rd November, 1196, 8 Ric. I.]

(Galiana, widow of Ralph Fitz Gillobi, quitclaims to the Templars her
right of dower in the land of La Lee, for three marks.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud
Westmonasterium, die Sabbati proxima post festum Sancte
Cecilie, anno regni Regis Ricardi viij^o.

Coram H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Willelmo de Sancte
Marie Ecclesia, Magistro Thoma de Husseburn, Ricardo de
Heriet, Simone de Patishull, Ogero filio Ogeri, Justiciariis, et
aliis fidelibus domini Regis tunc ibidem presentibus.

Inter GALIANAM que fuit uxor RADULPHI filii GILLOBI,² peten-
tem,³ et FRATRES MILITIE TEMPLI, tenentes.

De tota terra de LA LEE, quam predicta GALIANA clamat ut
dotem ex dono predicti RADULPHI viri sui.

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet, quod
predicta GALIANA remisit et quietum clamavit totum jus et cla-

¹ Perhaps heiress of the De Alingtons.

² Gillobi? In the original there is a stroke over the terminating letters
bi, indicating a contraction.

³ In the original it is "tenentem," but evidently a clerical error for
"petentem."

mium suum quod habuit in predicta terra de LA LEE, de se, predictis fratribus et successoribus suis, in perpetuum.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et quieto clamio, predicti fratres dederunt predictae Galiane iij marcas argenti.

Ralph Fitz Gillobi = Galiana.
(dead) 1196. 1196.

IX.—(8.)

[22 April, 1197, 8 Ric. I.]

(Thomas de Esse quitclaims to William de Einesford twenty acres in Sardasse.)¹

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die Martis secunda post octabas Pasche, anno regni Regis Ricardi octavo.

Coram H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Radulfo Herefordensi, Ricardo Elyensi Archidiaconis, Magistro Thoma de Hussebourne, . . . Heriet, Simone de Patishull, Ogero filio Ogeri, Justiciariis, et aliis fidelibus domini Regis ibidem tunc presentibus.

Inter WILLELMUM [DE EINES] FORD, petentem, per Petrum de Boteilles, positum loco suo ad lucrandum vel perdendum, et THOMAM DE ESSE, tenentem.

De xx acris . . . cum pertinentiis, in SARDASSE.

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predictus THOMAS DE ESSE remisit . . . clamavit predicto WILLELMO DE EINESFORD, totum jus et clamium suum quod habuit in predicta terra, cum pertinentiis, in SARDAISSE, . . . et heredibus suis, sibi et heredibus suis, in perpetuum.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et quieto clamio, predictus WILLELMUS DE EINESFORD dedit prenominato THOME DE ESSE xxx solidos.

¹ Perhaps the district which is now called South Ash, or in the vernacular, Soudaisse.

X.—(9.)

[22 April, 1197, 8 Ric. I.]

(Walter de Petraponte [Pierrepont] grants to his mother Lucy, one yoke in Shepey, called Stapendun, and one yoke in Detling, called Manesland, and three acres in Detling, and ten acres of pasture in the tenure of Boxley, and twelve acres in the same tenure, for life, for her dower. She is to hold the yoke in Shepey, of Lady Alice Picot, by the service of the ninth part of a knight's-fee; and the yoke in Detling, of William de Detlinge, by one mark per annum; and the three acres in Detling, of the said William de Detlinge, by two pence per annum; and the ten acres of pasture in the tenure of Boxley, of the Canons of [Rochester] by twelve pence per annum; and the twelve acres in the tenure of Boxley, of the monks of Boxley, by three shillings per annum; and the twenty acres in the tenure of Boxley, of Vital de Horepole and Ernulph his brother, by five shillings and two ploughs per annum. And if Walter de Pierrepont be unable to warrant these lands to his mother Lucy, he shall make an exchange with her in his land in Stansted in Kent or Elinton in Sussex. After her death the said lands to revert to Walter de Pierrepont. For this grant she is to pay the said Walter a pair of spurs per annum.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die Martis proxima post festum Sancti Alphegi, anno regni Regis Ricardi viij^o, ad scaccarium Pasche.

Coram H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, R. Londonensi, G.¹ Wintonensi, Episcopis, R. Archidiacono Herefordensi, Magistro Thoma de Husseburne, Simone Pateshull, Ricardo de Heriot, Ogero filio Ogeri, tunc Justiciariis domini Regis, et coram aliis Baronibus et fidelibus domini Regis ibidem tunc presentibus.

Inter WALTERUM DE PETRAPONTE, tenentem, et LUCIAM DE PETRAPONTE, matrem suam, petentem.

De uno jugo terre in SCAPELA, quod vocatur STAPENDUN; et de uno jugo terre in DETLINGES, quod vocatur MANESLAND; et de tribus acris terre, cum pertinentiis, in predicta villa de DETLINGES; et de decem acris pasture in tenura de BOXLE; et de xij acris terre, cum pertinentiis, in eadem tenura de BOXLE; et de viginti acris terre, cum pertinentiis, in eadem tenura de BOXLE.

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in Curia domini Regis, scilicet quod predictus WALTERUS DE PETRAPONTE concessit predictæ LUCIE matri sue, omnes predictas terras, cum pertinentiis, tenendas tota . . . sua, ut dotem suam, sine omni vexatione. Ita,

¹ Godfrey de Lucy.

tamen, quod ipsa LUCIA tenebit predictum jugum terre, in SCAPEIA, de Domina ALICIA PICOT, et heredibus endo inde, per manum predicti WALTERI, servitium none partis feodi unius militis; et predictum jugum terre de DETLINGES tenebit ipsa LUCIA DE [WILLELMO DE] DETLINGE, et heredibus suis, reddendo inde eidem WILLELMO, per annum, unam marcam argenti, per manum predicti WALTERI DE PETRAPONTE, pro omni servicio, eidem WILLELMO DE heredibus suis, pertinente; et predictas tres acras terre, cum pertinentiis, in villa de DETLINGES, tenebit eadem LUCIA de predicto WILLELMO DE DETLINGES, reddendo atim, duos denarios pro omni servicio; et predictas decem acras pasture, in tenuta de BOXLE, tenebit predicta LUCIA de Canonicis de¹ reddendo inde eis, annuatim, xij^d pro omni servicio, per manum predicti WALTERI; et predictas xij acras terre, cum pertinentiis, in tenuta de BOXLE, tenebit eadem LUCIA de monachis de BOXLE, reddendo inde eis, annuatim, tres solidos pro omni servicio, per manum predicti WALTERI; et predictas xx acras terre, cum pertinentiis, in tenuta de BOXLE, tenebit eadem LUCIA de VITALE DE HOREPOLE, et ERNULFO fratre suo, et heredibus eorum, reddendo inde eis, annuatim, v solidos et duos vomeres, pro omni servicio, per manum predicti WALTERI.

Et sciendum est, quod predictus WALTERUS DE PETRAPONTE debet warrantizare omnes prenominate terras, cum pertinentiis, predictæ LUCIE matri sue, ut dotem suam. Et si illas terras ei warrantizare non posset, idem WALTERUS faciet excambium ei, in terra sua de STANSTEDE in Kent, vel in terra sua de ELINTON in Sudsex, ubi ipsa maluerit. Et post mortem predictæ LUCIE, omnes predictas terras² cum pertinentiis redibunt solas et quietas in manum predicti WALTERI DE PETRAPONTE, sine aliquo retine mento.

Et pro hac concessione, et hac finali concordia, predicta LUCIA reddet annuatim predicto WALTERO unum par calcarium precii quatuor denariorum, ad Pascham nomine redditus.

. . . . de Petraponte = Lucy.
(dead) 1197 | 1197.

Walter de Petraponte.
1197.

¹ Perhaps "de Roffa."

² Sic.

XI.—(14.)

[22nd April, 1197, 8 Ric. I.]

(William de Plumton quitclaims to the Abbot of Boxley and his successors all his land in Sherenden, to hold of him and his heirs, in pure and perpetual alms, for one gold besant.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die Martis secunda post octabas Pasche, anno regni Regis Ricardi viij^o.

Coram H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Radolpho Herefordensi, Ricardo Elyensi, Archidiaconis, Magistro Thoma de Husseburn, Ricardo de Heriet, Simone de Patishull, Ogero¹ filio Hervei, Justiciariis, et aliis fidelibus domini Regis ibidem tunc presentibus.

Inter ROBERTUM ABBATEM DE BUXLEE, petentem, per Johannem confratrem suum, positum loco suo, ad lucrandum vel perdendum, et WILLELMUM DE PLUMTON, tenentem.

De tota terra quam habuit, cum pertinentiis, in SHERENDEN.²

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet, quod predictus WILLELMUS remisit et quietum clamavit predicto ABBATI, et successoribus suis, totum jus et clamium suum quod habuit in predicta terra, cum pertinentiis, in SHORENDEN, de se, et heredibus suis, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, in perpetuum.

Et pro hoc fine, et concordia et quieto clamio, predictus ABBAS dedit prenominato WILLELMO, unum bisantium aureum.

XII.—(10.)

[28th April, 1197, 8 Ric. I.]

(John de Tresgoz, and Henry and Thomas his brothers, quitclaim to Robert de Leiburn, three parts of one carucate in Mere, for which the said Robert de Leiburn gives them all his land of Rokelee, to them and their heirs, to hold of him and his heirs, by the free service of a quarter of a knight's-fee, except his land of Bugkinden, and the meadows and

¹ *Sic* in Record, for "Osberto."

² The manor of Sharnden in Elmley, in Shepey; there was however another Sharnden in Edenbridge.

wood of Bugkinden, which remain to said Robert de Leiburn and his heirs.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die Lune proxima ante Inventionem Sancte Crucis, anno regni Regis Ricardi viij^o.

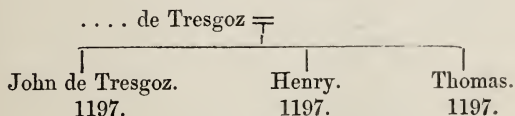
Coram H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Radulpho Herefordensi, Ricardo Elyensi, Archidiaconis, Magistro Thoma de Husseburne, Ricardo de Heriet, Simone de Patishull, Ogero filio Ogeri, Justiciariis, et aliis fidelibus domini Regis ibidem tunc presentibus.

Inter JOHANNEM DE TRESGOZ, et HENRICUM, et THOMAM, fratres suos, petentes, et ROBERTUM DE [LEI]BOURN, tenentem.

De tribus partibus j carucate tere, cum pertinentiis, in MERE.

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predicti JOHANNES DE TRESGOZ, et HENRICUS et THOMAS, fratres sui, remiserunt et quietum clamaverunt prenominato ROBERTO DE LEIBURN, totum jus et clamium suum quod habuerunt in predicta terra, cum pertinentiis, in MERE, de ipsis et heredibus suis, sibi et heredibus suis, in perpetuum.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et quieto clamio, predictus ROBERTUS dedit predictis JOHANNI DE TRESGOZ et HENRICO et THOME, fratribus suis, totam terram suam de ROKELEE, cum pertinenciis, tenendam ipsis et heredibus suis, de se et heredibus suis, per liberum servitium quarte partis feodi j militis, exceptis terra sua de BUGKINDEN, et pratis et bosco de BUGKINDEN, que remanent predicto ROBERTO et heredibus suis.



¹ By entries on the Pipe Roll, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 10 Ric. I., it would seem that Amy Tresgoz was mother to Robert de Leyborne.

XIII.—(16.)

[4th May, 1197, 8 Ric. I.]

(Sinoth Cgnophelaster quitclaims from himself and his heirs, to the six brothers Turstan, Ralph, Walter, Hamo, Matthew, and Adam, the half of thirty-three acres in Rodmersham. One acre under the garden of Hoppekamell, shall remain in the brothers' half, to them and their heirs for ever. The other half, and the capital messuage therein, and four acres which Humphrey Arblaster held of them and their heirs, to remain to said Sinoth and his heirs for ever. Each party to be answerable for the foreign service to which their own medieties are liable.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die dominica proxima post Invencionem Crucis, anno regni Regis Ricardi viij^o.

Coram H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Radulpho Herefordensi, Ricardo Elyensi, Archidiaconis, Magistro Thoma de Husburn, Ricardo de Heriet, Osberto filio Herveii, Simone de Pateshill, Ogero filio Ogeri, Justiciariis, et aliis fidelibus domini Regis tunc ibidem tunc presentibus.

Inter TURSTANUM, et RADULPHUM, et WALTERUM, et HAMONEM, et MATHEUM, et ADAM, petentes, per Turstanum et Walterum fratres suos, positos loco suo ad lucrandum vel perdendum, et SINOTH CGNOPEHALSTER, tenentem.

De xxxiiij acris terre, cum pertinentiis, in RODMARESHAM.

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predictus SINOTH remisit et quietam clamavit prenominationis fratribus, medietatem totius predictæ terre; scilicet, xvj acras terre et dimidiam; in RODMARESHAM. Et in medietate predictorum fratrum remanebit j acra sub gardino de HOPPEKAMELL,¹ de se et heredibus suis, ipsis et heredibus eorum, in perpetuum. Et alia medietas predictæ terre remanebit predicto SINOTH, et capitale mesuagium quod est in medietate sua, et iiij^{or} acre quas Umfridus Arblaster tenuit de ipsis et heredibus eorum, ipsi SINOTH et heredibus suis in perpetuum. Et predicti fratres defendent partem suam de forinseco servicio. Et predictus SINOTH defendet partem suam de forinseco servicio.²

¹ Perhaps for Hoppekar mill,—but ? if the word be not 'Hopthekamell.'

² *i. e.* The services due to the King. "Dici possunt forinseca, quia pertinent ad dominum Regem, et non ad dominum capitalem. Quandoque enim nominantur forinseca, large sumpto vocabulo, quoad servitium domini

XIV.—(12.)

[4th June, 1197, 8 Ric. I.]

(The apportionment of half a knight's-fee in the manor of Fleet, near Richborough, between Elias de Bello Campo and Constance Bolebec his wife, plaintiffs, and Ruellinus de Abrincis, tenant. This Ruellinus probably was either the husband or son of the sister of Constance Bolebec, and the two ladies were coheireses.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die Mercurii proxima post festum Sancte Trinitatis, anno regni Regis Ricardi viij^o.

Coram H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Radulpho Herefordensi, Ricardo Elyensi . . . Magistro Thoma de Husseburne, Ricardo de Heriet, Osberto filio Hervei, Simone de Patishill, Ogero filio Ogeri, Justiciariis, et aliis fidelibus domini Regis ibidem tunc presentibus.

Inter ELIAM DE BELLO CAMPO, et CONSTANCIAM BOLEBEC uxorem suam, petentes, et RUELLINUM DE ABRINCIS, tenentem.

De dimidio feodo unius militis, cum pertinenciis, in FLETES.¹

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod medietas totius dimidii feodi militis predicti, in omnibus rebus, cum dominatu remanet ELYE predicto, et CUSTANCIE uxori sue, et heredibus eorum: Scilicet, capitale mesuagium, et tota terra que est infra muros de RATTEBURG,² et una acra que est extra muros versus meridiem occidentalis introitus muri, et orientalis pars campi qui vocatur CNOLLA, et septentrionalis pars campi qui est versus septentrionem a campo prenominato de CNOLLA, et septentrionalis pars campi qui vocatur CLAURE, et meridionalis pars campi qui est versus meridiem a spinis, et septen-

Regis, quandoque scutagia, quandoque servitium domini Regis, et ideo *forinsecum* dici potest, quia fit et capitur *foris*, sive extra servitium quod fit domino capitali."—Bracton, lib. ii. cap. 16. There are instances, however, in which "forinsecum servitium" seems to have belonged to others than the King; perhaps in that case it is the service for which the tenant of the manor Lord is liable to the chief or paramount Lord, or the service which the Lord could claim from his tenants to perform on some other of his manors than that within which they resided. But there seems much uncertainty about it; at all events, as in scutage, it was not a fixed, but an irregular and uncertain service.

¹ *i. e.* The manor of Fleet, near Richborough, in the parish of Ash.

² ? Raceceburg—Richborough.

trionalis pars campi qui est versus septentrionem a HOGA, et meridionalis pars campi qui vocatur NALLIS,¹ et occidentalis pars campi qui vocatur SCANTEGA, et occidentalis pars campi qui est versus septentrionem a via que se extendit ad muros de RATTEBURG, et meridionalis pars campi qui est versus meridiem a muro de RATTEBURG, et orientalis pars campi qui vocatur STALDINGBURGA, et meridionalis pars HOGE,²—et occidentalis pars . . . et septentrionalis pars campi qui vocatur STEPATRA,³ et occidentalis pars unius acre que est versus meridiem a domibus Domine ISABELLE.

Preterea, isti homines remanent predicto ELYE et CUSTANCIE, uxori sue, et heredibus eorum ; . . . se Settle, cum omni tenemento suo et servicio ; Estrilda uxor Wlfi,⁴ cum omni tenemento suo et servicio ; Lucas et Philippus filii Wlfi, cum omni tenemento suo et servicio ; Nicholas filius Wimundi, cum x acris tenementi sui, et cum . . . ad x acras pertinet ; Jordanus de Flete, cum omni tenemento suo et servicio, excepta medietate servicii quod debet de Averagio ;⁵ Erdricus le Sauner, cum omni tenemento suo et servicio. Et medietas servicii . . . Walteri Hassard, scilicet, de orientali parte tenementi sui, et de servicio Alicie Andegavensis, iiij^d et obolus ; et dimidium servicii Rogeri Bulege, et de redditu Librici f . . . Ricardi, iiij^d et obolus et quadrans.

Et RUE[LLINO] ABRINCIS, et heredibus suis, remanet mesuagium suum in campo qui est versus meridiem a spinis, et tota terra ubi spine sunt, scilicet, de predicto dimidio feodo unius militis, . . . pertinet RUELL[INO] de ABRINCIS . . . proxime molendino. Et occidentalis pars campi qui vocatur CNOLLA, et meridionalis pars campi qui est versus septentrionem a campo prenominato de CNOLLE, et meridionalis pars . . . onalis pars campi qui est versus meridiem a spinis, et meridionalis pars campi qui est versus septentrionem a HOGA, et septentrionalis pars campi qui vocatur NOLL, et orientalis pars campi . . . alis pars campi qui est versus septentrionem a via que se extendit ad muros de RATTEBURG, et septentrionalis pars campi qui est versus meridiem a muro de RATTEBURG, et . . . alis pars campi qui vocatur STALDINGBURGA, et septentrionalis

¹ ? Nollis, *i. q.* Cnolla.

² ? Hoge :—the word is almost obliterated.

³ ? Scepatra.

⁴ ? Wlsi.

⁵ *Averagium* was the cart-service due from tenants to their lord ; *i. e.* service of carriage with their beasts (*averiis*) at certain specified seasons.

pars HOGE, et orientalis pars Pasture, et meridionalis pars campi qui vocatur STEPATRA,¹ et orientalis pars unius acre que est versus meridiem a domibus

Preterea, Alanus de Berelinge remanet Ruellenno de Abrincis, cum omni tenemento suo et servicio, et Albrea uxor Godwini, cum omni tenemento suo et servicio, et Willelmus le Scot, cum omni tenemento Humfridus et Rogerus filii Wlwini, cum omni tenemento suo et servicio, Hugo filius Elurici, cum omni tenemento suo et servicio, et homagium Nicholai filii Wilmundi de v sunt versus septentrionem, juxta campum qui vocatur Scantega, Matheus filius Osberti, cum omni tenemento suo et servicio, et dimidium servicii et redditus Walteri Hasard, scilicet, de occidentali et de servicio Alicie Andegavensis, ij^d et obolus, et dimidium servicium Rogeri de Bulege, et de tenemento Edrici² filii Ricardi, j^d et ij quadrantibus, et ij galline, et medietas servicii da scilicet, debet de averagio.

Et sciendum est, quod tota medietas in mariscis et salinis, cum omnibus aliis pertinenciis, que pertinent ad predictum dimidium feodum unius militis, remanet ELYE DE BELLO CAMPO et uxori sue, et heredibus eorum; et altera medietas remanet RUELLINO de ABRINCIS, et heredibus suis, cum omnibus pertinenciis; et forstallum quod est ante portam Curie est inter

ELIAS DE BELLO CAMPO cepit homagium predicti RUELLINI de omnibus prescriptis tenementis que eidem RUELLINO remanent, tenenda ipsi RUELLINO et heredibus suis, de predicto ELIA et CUSTANCIA uxore sua, et de heredibus suis, per servicium quarte partis feodi unius militis.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia dedit predictus RUELLINUS DE ABRINCIS, ELIE DE BELLO CAMPO, et CUSTANCIE uxori sue, decem marcas argenti.

Elias de Bello Campo = Constance Bolebec.

¹ ? Scepatra.

² *Sic*, "Edrici," not "Librici," *ut supra*.

XV.

[6th June, 1197, 8 Ric. I.]

(Oliver de Arden and Isabella his wife, formerly wife of Simon de Godinton, release and quitclaim to Stephen de Godinton [probably son of said Simon and Isabella] her claim for her third part in his lands at Godinton and Hudimere, for which the said Stephen grants them, for her dower, thirty shillings rent in the lands and men of Godinton and Hudimere for life, for forty shillings.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die Veneris proxima post festum Sancte Trinitatis, anno regni Regis Ricardi viij^o.

Coram H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Radulpho Herefordensi, Ricardo Elyensi, Archidiaconis, Magistro Thoma de Husseburn, Ricardo de Heriet, Osberto filio Hervei, Simone de Pateshill, Ogero filio Ogeri, Justiciariis, et aliis fidelibus domini Regis ibidem tunc presentibus.

Inter OLIVERUM DE ARDEN et ISABELLAM uxorem suam, petentes, et STEPHANUM DE GODINTON, tenentem.

De toto feodo SIMONIS DE GODINTON, qui fuit maritus ipsius ISABELLE, quod est in GODINTON et HUDIMERE, unde ipsa ISABELLA clamabat terciam partem suam de predicto feodo, ex dono prefati SIMONIS quondam viri sui.

Et unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predictus . . . et ISABELLA uxor sua, remiserunt et quietum clamaverunt prenominato STEPHANO, et heredibus suis, totum jus et clamium suum quod habuerunt in predicta tercia parte feodi prenominati, quam ipsa ISABELLA clamabat in dotem de ipsis in perpetuum.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et quieto clamio, predictus STEPHANUS dedit et concessit prenominate ISABELLE et OLIVERO viro suo, xxx solidos redditus, in terris et in hominibus, in GODINTON et HUDIMERE, sub nomine dotis, in vitam predictae ISABELLE, salvo servicio domini Regis. Scilicet, xxv solidos et vj^d redditus in GODINTON, et iiij solidos et vj^d redditus in HUDIMERE.

Et hic est redditus de GODINTON qui remanet ipsi ISABELLE et OLIVERO viro suo:—Scilicet, de terra Here . . . xl^d et obolus, et de terra Radulphi fratris ejusdem, xl^d et obolus, et de terra Eilurici fratris eorundem, xl^d et obolus, et de terra Ro-

berti filii Radulphi et Henrici fratris sui, xxviiij^d et obolus, et de terra Ricardi Wallensis, ij^s, et de terra Reginaldi de Tenilland xxxij^d et quadrans, et de terra Simonis filii Stephani, vij^d et quadrans, et de terra Radulphi filii Sansonis, ij^s et iij oboli, et de terra Edwardi de Ponte, xix^d, et de terra Lefseti, iiij^s.

De HUDIMERE, de terra Sansonis del Broc, iiij^s et vj^d.

Et sciendum est, quod post obitum ipsius Isabelle, predicti xxx solidi redditus, in terris et in hominibus, redibunt prenominato Stephano et heredibus suis.

Et preterea, pro hoc fine et concordia, dedit predictus STEPHANUS prenominato OLIVERO et ISABELLE uxori sue xl^s esterlingorum.

Simon de Godinton ¹ Isabella ² Oliver de Arden.
(dead) 1197. 1197. 1197.

XVI.—(11.)

[9th June, 1197, 8 Ric. I.]

(Benedict de Dappheese, plaintiff, quitclaims to Adam Escabi, tenant, and his heirs, all right in a rent of sixteen shillings and tenpence in Langesstrod, in a recognizance of Mortdauncestor.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die Lune proxima post octabas Sancte Trinitatis, anno regni Regis Ricardi viij^o.

Coram H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Radulpho Herefordensi, Ricardo Elyensi, Archidiaconis, Magistro Thoma de Husseburn, Ricardo de Heriet, Osberto filio Hervei, Simone de Pateshill geri, Justiciariis, et aliis fidelibus domini Regis ibidem tunc presentibus.

Inter BENEDICTUM DE DAPPESE, petentem, et ADAM ESCABI, tenentem.

De vj solidis, et itus in LANGESSTROD.

Unde recognicio de morte antecessoris¹ summonita fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predictus BENEDICTUS

¹ "The writ of Mortdauncestor lieth, where my father, or mother, brother or sister, uncle or aunt, or nephew or niece, die seized of any lands, tene-ments, or rents, or of a corody or other rents, as hens and capons, issuing out of other lands of an estate in fee-simple ; now if a stranger after their

quietum clamavit predicto ADE ESCABI et heredibus suis, totum jus et clamium suum quod habuit in predictis vj solidis et x denariis redditus de se et heredibus suis, in perpetuum.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et quieto clamio, predictus ADAM ESCABI dedit prefato BENEDICTO xxiv. . . .

XVII.—(18.)

[19th October, 1197, 9 Ric. I.]

(Reginald de Cornhell and Matilda his wife quitclaim from themselves and their heirs to Roger, the Abbot of St. Augustine, and the Convent thereof, their claim to the Stewardship of the said Abbey, for which the said Abbot and Convent have given the said Reginald and Matilda eighty marks, and fifty acres of land lying between the Park of Littlebourne and Wotton, to be held to them and their heirs, of the said Abbot and Convent, by the free service of twelve pence per annum.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis, apud Westmonasterium, vj^o die post translationem Sancti Edwardi, anno regni Regis Ricardi ix^o.

Coram H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Randulpho Herefordensi, Ricardo Eliensi, Archidiaconis, magistro Thoma de Husseburne, Ricardo de Heriet, Simone de Pateshull, Osberto filio Hervei, Justiciariis, et aliis fidelibus domini Regis ibidem tunc presentibus.

Inter REGINALDUM DE CORNHELL,¹ et MATILDAM uxorem suam, per ipsum Reginaldum, positum in loco suo ad lucrandum vel perdendum, petentes, et ROGERUM ABBATEM DE SANCTO AUGUSTINO, CANTUARIE, et ejusdem loci Conventum, tenentes.

De Senescancia ejusdem Abbacie, cum pertinentiis.

deaths abate [*i.e.* intrude between and hold illegal possession] in that land, rent, or profit, I, who am his heir, shall have this writ of assize of Mortdauncestor."—Fitzherbert, *De Natura Brev.* 195, C.

This writ directed the sheriff to summon a jury or assize, who were to view the land in question and recognize whether such ancestor had been seized thereof on the day of his death, and whether the demandant were next of kin; soon after which the Judges came down by the Royal commission to take the recognition of assize: when, if these points were found in the affirmative, the law immediately transferred the possession from the tenant to the demandant. (*Blackstone*, vol. iii., p. 194, ed. 1857.)

¹ It is "Cornh" in original.

[illegible]

11

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predicti REGINALDUS, et MATILDA uxor sua, remiserunt et quietum clamaverunt prenominato ROGERO ABBATI, et ejusdem loci Conventui, totum jus, et clamium suum quod habuerunt in predicta Senescancia prenominate Abbacie, cum pertinenciis, de eis et heredibus eorum, in perpetuum.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et quieto clamio, predicti ROGERUS Abbas, et Conventus, dederunt prefatis REGINALDO et MATILDE uxori sue, quaterviginti marcas argenti, et quinquaginta acras terre, cum pertinenciis, que jacent inter parcum de LITTLEBURNE et WOLTUN,¹ quas CLERENBAUD² tradidit Hamoni filio Rogeri, tenendas ipsi REGINALDO DE CORNEHELL, et MATILDE uxori sue, et heredibus eorum, de prenominato ROGERO Abbate et ejusdem loci Conventu, per liberum servicium xij^d per annum, pro omni servicio, ad festum Sancti Michaelis persolvendorum.

Reginald de Cornhell = Matilda.

XVIII.—(24.)

[20 October, 1197, 9 Ric. I.]

(Philip Danmartin and Lecia de Chelesfeld his wife, acknowledge to Geoffrey Fitz Piers eight acres of meadow in Sutton, and the watercourse therein, as his right and fee; for which the said Geoffrey Fitz Piers grants to the said Philip Danmartin and Lecia his wife, and their heirs, the said meadow, to hold of him and his heirs, by the free service of five shillings per annum.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die Lune post festum Sancti Luce Evangeliste, anno regni Regis Ricardi ix^o.

Coram H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Radulpho Herefordensi, Ricardo Eliensi, Archidiaconis, magistro Thoma de Husseburne, Ricardo de Heriet, Simone de Pateshull, Osberto filio Hervei, Justiciariis, et aliis fidelibus dicti Regis ibidem tunc presentibus.

Inter GALFRIDUM filium PETRI, petentem, per Willelmum de Wrotham, positum in loco suo ad lucrandum vel perdendum, et

¹ Walton is a manor in Littlebourne.

² Clerenbaud was the Abbot obtruded by the King on the Convent in 1163, and deposed in 1173.

PHILIPPUM de DANMARTIN et LECIAM de CHELESFELD uxorem suam, tenentes.

De viij acris prati, cum pertinentiis, in SUTTUNE, et de cursu aque qui antiquitus solebat currere in prato illo.

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predicti PHILIPPUS DANMARTIN et LECIA uxor sua recognoverunt predicto GALFRIDO filio PETRI, predictum pratum cum pertinentiis, esse jus suum et feodum suum. Et concesserunt, pro se et heredibus eorum, predicto GALFRIDO et heredibus suis, cursum predicte aque esse in prato illo, quantum ad eos pertinet.

Et pro hac recognitione et concessione predictus GALFRIDUS filius PETRI concessit predictis PHILIPPO DANMARTIN and LECIE uxori ejus, et heredibus eorum, totum predictum pratum cum pertinentiis, tenendum de se et heredibus suis, in perpetuum, per liberum servitium v solidorum per annum, pro omni servitio, ad festum Sancti Michaelis, persolvendorum.¹

Philip de Danmartin = Lecia de Cholesfeld.

XIX.—(20.)

[14 November, 1197, 9 Ric. I.]

(Geoffrey Fitz Piers quitclaims to Fulco the Abbot, and the Convent of Lesnes, his right of pasture in North Ocholte, which the said Geoffrey claimed to be the common pasture of Sutton; for which the said Abbot and Convent, with consent of said Geoffrey, give to William de Wrotham and his heirs thirty acres in Ocholte, lying between Le Haec and the land of Simon le Hert, to be held of said Abbot and Convent for ever, by one pound of cummin per annum.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, in crastino Sancti Bricii, anno regni Regis Ricardi nono.

Coram domino H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Radulpho Herefordensi, Ricardo Eliensi, Archidiaconis, magistro Thoma

¹ By a reference to the accompanying facsimile, it will be seen that to each Fine the name of the county to which it relates is added at the foot, and at the top of the Fine are portions of letters, the remainder of them being on the counterpart, which was cut off and delivered to the parties, the cut being made through the centre of the letters, as in the foil and counterfoil of bankers' cheques, for future verification.

de Husseburne, Ricardo de Herierd, Willelmo de Waren, Justiciariis, et aliis fidelibus domini Regis ibidem tunc presentibus.

Inter GALFRIDUM filium PETRI, petentem, per Willelmum de Wrotham, positum loco suo ad lucrandum vel perdendum, et FOLCONEM ABBATEM, et Conventum de LESNES, tenentes.

De pastura in NORD OCHOLTE,¹ quam ipse GALFRIDUS clamabat esse communem pasturam de SUTTUNE.

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predictus GALFRIDUS filius PETRI remisit et quietum clamavit predictis ABBATI et Conventui de LESNES, pro amore Dei, et beate Marie, et beati Thome Martiris, et omnium Sanctorum Dei, totum jus et clamium suum quod habuit in predicta pastura, de se et de heredibus suis, in perpetuum.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et quieto clamio, predicti Abbas et Conventus dederunt, concensu et voluntate predicti GALFRIDI, prefato WILLELMO de WROTHAM et heredibus suis, triginta acras terre in OCHOLT, tenendas de predictis Abbate et Conventu in perpetuum, per liberum servitium unius libre cumini per annum, pro omni servicio, ad festum Sancti Michaelis reddendum. Et ille predictae triginta acre sunt inter le HAEC et terram SIMONIS le HERT.

XX.—(22.)

[15 November, 1197, 9 Ric. I.]

(Henry de Scornes, in a recognizance of Mort d'Ancestor, remises to James and Thomas, sons of the late Robert de Fugeleston, all claim in one and a half yoke, less three acres and one perch, in Cobham, and in two acres and a half of meadow in Shorne, and in one yoke in Hoo, and in the service of one yoke in East Herting, and in seventeen acres in Cobham, which were Robert de Heested's; for which they give to said Henry thirty-five marks, and he promises never to plead, with Emma de Duneleia, against them, for the lands whereof he has called the said Emma to warranty.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die Sabbati proxima post festum Sancti Martini, anno regni Regis Ricardi nono.

Coram domino H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Radulpho Herefordensi, Ricardo Eliensi, Archidiaconis, magistro Thoma

¹ The manor of Ocholte was in Knockholt parish, into which the manor of Sutton extended.

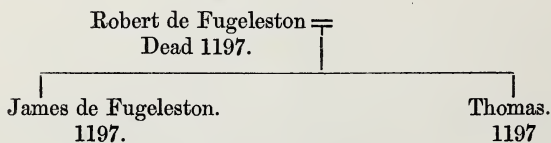
de Husseburne, Willelmo de Warene, Ricardo de Herierd, Osberto filio Heruei, Justiciariis, et aliis Baronibus et fidelibus domini Regis tunc ibi presentibus.

Inter JACOBUM de FUGELESTON, et THOMAM fratrem suum, petentes, et HENRICUM de SCORNES, tenentem.

De j jugo¹ et dimidio, tribus acris et una perca minus, cum pertinentiis, in COBBEHAM, et de duabus acris et dimidia prati in SCORNES,² et de j jugo terre in Ho,³ cum pertinentiis, et de servicio j jugi terre in EAST HERSTING, cum pertinentiis, et de xvij acris terre, cum pertinentiis, in COBBEHAM, que fuerunt ROBERTI DE HECSTED.

Unde recognicio de morte ROBERTI de FUGELESTON, patris eorundem JACOBI et THOME, summonita fuit in prefata Curia, scilicet quod prefatus HENRICUS remisit ipsis, scilicet JACOBO et THOME et heredibus eorum, de se et heredibus suis, totum jus et clamium quod habuit in predictis terris.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et recognicione et quieto clamio, predicti JACOBUS et THOMAS dederunt eidem HENRICO xxxv marcas argenti. Et predictus HENRICUS fideliter eis in Curia domini Regis promisit quod nunquam contra eos, cum EMMA de DUNELEIA placitabit de terris unde predictam EMMAM vocavit ad warantum.



¹ In the Domesday survey, the Jugum, or a "Yoke" of land, like "Solin," is confined to Kent. Matthew Paris and other writers would seem to consider "Jugum" as equivalent to a "Hide." In one passage in Domesday, the Jugum is made equal to half a Carucate, and in another to the fourth of a Solin. The Carucate varied according to the soil, it being as much as a plough could till in a year. Mr. Morgan (in his learned treatise, 'England under the Norman Occupation,' p. 39) says—"Jugum terræ, a yoke of land, in Domesday, containeth half a ploughland (Co. Litt. 5 a). It may be the measure called a *wist* in the 'Battle Abbey Book,' containing forty-eight acres, set by the perch of sixteen feet (B. A. B. 19)." Uncertainty, however, must still rest upon our inquiries; for in these early times, when

² *i.e.* Shorne.

³ *i.e.* Hoo.

XXI.—(17.)

[18 November, 1197, 9 Ric. I.]

(Amisius de Bidinden quitclaims to William the Capellan and his heirs, one and a half yoke of land in the tenure of Aldington, in Romney Marsh; the said William and his heirs to pay one shilling per annum to said Amisius for all service due to the Archbishop of Canterbury. For this quitclaim the said William gives the said Amisius forty-six marks.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, in octabis Sancti Martini, anno regni Regis Ricardi ix^o.

Coram domino H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Radulpho Herefordensi, Ricardo Eliensi, Archidiaconis, magistro Thoma de Husseburne, Willelmo de Warenne, Ricardo de Herierde, Osberto, filio Heruei, Justiciariis, et aliis Baronibus et fidelibus domini Regis tunc ibi presentibus.

Inter WILLELMUM Capellanum, petentem, et AMISIUM de BIDINDEN, tenentem.

De uno jugo terre et dimidio, cum pertinentiis, in tenemento de ALDINTON, in marisco de ROMENELL.

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in eadem Curia, scilicet quod predictus AMISIUS quietam clamavit, predicto WILLELMO et heredibus suis, totam predictam terram, de se et heredibus suis, in perpetuum.

Et idem WILLELMUS et heredes sui, reddent eidem AMISIO et heredibus suis, xij denarios annuatim, pro omni servicio salvo servicio domini Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, medietatem, scilicet, ad mediam Quadragesimam, et medietatem, ad festum Sancti Michaelis, super idem tenementum.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et quieto clamio, idem WILLELMUS dedit predicto AMISIO quadraginta sex marcas argenti. Et idem AMISIUS et heredes sui, warantizabunt predictam terram, predicto WILLELMO et heredibus suis, contra omnes homines.

the denominations of many of the different measures of land were taken from the extent of work which could be done in a given period, varying necessarily with the nature of the soil, it is impossible to assign the measurement in any given case with exactness.

XXII.—(26.)

[16 April, 1198, 9 Ric. I.]

(Nicholas Fitz Baldwin quitclaims to the Prior and Convent of Canterbury, three acres between Worthgate and the Hospital of St. James, for one besant.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die Jovis proxima post xv dies Pasche, anno regni Regis Ricardi ix^o.

Coram domino H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Ricardo Eliensi Archidiacono, magistro Thoma de Husseburn, Ricardo de Herierd, Osberto filio Heruei, Johanne de Gestliges, Justiciariis, et aliis Baronibus et fidelibus domini Regis tunc ibi presentibus.

Inter NICHOLAUM filium BALDEWINI, petentem, et PRIOREM CANTUARIE, tenentem, per Stephanum de Berkinge, positum loco suo ad lucrandum vel perdendum.

De tribus acris terre, cum pertinentiis, inter WRTGATE et Hospitalem SANCTI JACOBI.

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predictus NICHOLAUS remisit et quietum clamavit predicto PRIORI et Conventui, totum jus et clamium suum quod habuit in predictis tribus acris terre, de se et heredibus suis, in perpetuum.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et quieto clamio, predictus PRIOR dedit predicto NICHOLAO unum besantium.

XXIII.—(21.)

[1 June, 1198, 9 Ric. I.]

No. 1. *Division of Simon de Chelesfeld's Estate among the three Coheiresses.*

(Philip de Danmartin and Lecia his wife, grant to their nephew Thomas Escollant, son of Alice, eldest daughter of Simon de Chelesfeld (and sister of said Lecia) one hundred shillings rent in Chelesfeld, during the life of Juliana, mother of said Lecia; after the death of said Juliana, the said Thomas and his heirs shall hold as much of the land of Farnigham as is within the parish of Horton, which Juliana holds in dower, as of the gift of her late husband Simon de Chelesfeld; and then the said one hundred shillings rent in Chelesfeld shall revert to said Philip and Lecia and the heirs of said Lecia. Moreover, the said Philip and Lecia grant to the said Thomas and his heirs, one of the two knight's-fees which John de Godin-

ton holds of the fee of the said Simon de Chelesfeld, viz. half in Farnborough and half in Strood; and half a knight's-fee in Caldecote which the said Philip holds of the same fee; and the third part of a knight's-fee which Reginald Flemeng holds in Farnborough, to be received from the hands of the said Juliana during her life, being of her dower, and after her death, from the hands of the said Reginald and his heirs. For this, the said Thomas and his heirs quitclaim to said Philip and Lecia, and the heirs of said Lecia, all the surplusage of his claim, and Philip and Lecia give to said Thomas twelve marks.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die Lune proxima post xv dies Pentecoste, anno regni Regis Ricardi ix^o.

Coram domino H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Ricardo Eliensi Archidiacono, magistro Thoma de Husseburne, Willelmo de Warenne, Ricardo de Herierd, Osberto filio Heruei, Johanne de Gestliges, Justiciariis, et aliis Baronibus et fidelibus domini Regis tunc ibi presentibus.

Inter THOMAM ESCOLLANT filium ALICIE primogenite filie SIMONIS de CHELESFELD, petentem, et PHILIPPUM de DANMARTIN et LECIAM uxorem suam et materteram predicti THOME, tenentes.

De tota tercia parte terre que fuit predicti SIMONIS, scilicet, de feodis v militum.

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predicti PHILIPPUS et LECIA concesserunt ipsi THOME, centum solidos redditus in CHELESFELD, tenendos ad vitam JULIANE matris predictae LECIE. Et post decessum ipsius JULIANE, predictus THOMAS et heredes sui tenebunt terram de FERNIGEAM, cum pertinentiis suis, quantum est infra parochiam de HORTON, quam JULIANA tenet in dotem suam, de dono SIMONIS de CHELESFELD, quondam viri sui; et tunc revertentur ad ipsos PHILIPPUM et LECIAM, et ad heredes ipsius LECIE, predicti c solidi redditus in CHELESFELD quieti de ipso THOMA, et heredibus suis.

Et preterea, idem PHILIPPUS et LECIA concesserunt ipsi THOME, et heredibus suis, servitium unius militis, de illis duobus militibus quos JOHANNES de GODINTON tenet de feodo predicti SIMONIS de CHELESFELD, scilicet, dimidium in FERNIBERGE,¹ et dimidium in STRODES, et servitium dimidii militis in CALDECOTE, quod idem PHILIPPUS tenet de eodem feodo; et servitium tercie partis j militis quod REGINALDUS FLEMENG tenet in FRENIBERGE,¹ recipi-

¹ Ferniberge and Freniberge, *i.e.* Farnborough. Caldecote was in Chels-

ensi Archidiacono, magistro Thoma de Husseburne, Willelmo de Warenne, Ricardo de Herierd, Osberto filio Heruei, Johanne de Gestling, Justiciariis, et aliis Baronibus et fidelibus domini Regis ibidem tunc presentibus.

Inter PHILIPPUM DE DINE,¹ filium SARRE, filio SIMONIS DE CHELEFELD, petentem, et PHILIPPUM et LECIAM, tenentes.

De terciâ parte terre que fuit SIMONIS DE CHELESFELD.

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predictus PHILIPPUS de DANMARTIN et LECIA uxor sua, concesserunt prefato PHILIPPO DE DINE et heredibus suis, vj libratas redditus in CHELESFELD, tenendas ad vitam JULIANE matris LECIE DE CHELESFELD; et post obitum ipsius JULIANE revertentur predictæ vj librate redditus predictis PHILIPPO DE DANMARTIN et LECIE uxori sue, et heredibus ipsius LECIE.

Et ipse PHILIPPUS DE DINE et heredes sui habebunt totam terram de ELME,² cum pertinentiis, quam ipsa JULIANA tenet in dotem de dono predicti SIMONIS DE CHELESFELD.

Et preterea, predictus PHILIPPUS DE DANMARTIN et LECIA uxor sua, concesserunt eidem PHILIPPO DE DINA servitium j militis de feodo JOHANNIS DE GODINTON, in GODINTON, et servitium j militis de feodo JOHANNIS DE BERTON, de feodo predicti SIMONIS.

Et PHILIPPO DE DINA, et heredibus suis, remanet maritagium SARRE matris predicti PHILIPPI in HECHAM,³ et in MACSTONE.

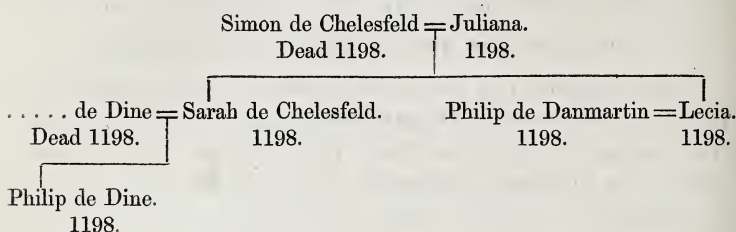
without license of the lord of the fee. "Maritagium" signifies the liberty to marry thus given by the lord. In Magna Charta the clause relative to widows stands thus:—"A widow, after the death of her husband, shall immediately, and without difficulty, have her 'maritagium' and her inheritance. Nor shall she give anything for her dower, or for her marriage, or for her inheritance, which her husband and she held at the day of his death, and she may remain in her husband's house for forty days after his death, within which time her dower shall be assigned. No widow shall be distrained to marry while she chooses to live without a husband; in such wise, however, that she give security that she will not marry without our consent, if she hold of us, or without the consent of the lord of whom she does hold, if she hold of another." And these are only expansions of the charter of Henry I. The consent of the lord previous to any future marriage was with good reason required, in order, first, that widows of the King's *capite* tenants should not marry with his enemies; and secondly, that they should not be united to strangers, by whose means the treasure of the realm might be carried out of the country.

¹ ? Diue.

² ? Eline, Elmaie, Elvie, Elive.

³ Probably Higham.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et donacione, predictus PHILIPPUS DE DINA, et heredes sui, quietum clamaverunt predictis PHILIPPO DE DAMMARTIN, et LECIE uxori sue, et heredibus ipsius LECIE, totum superplusagium de clamio suo. Et predicti PHILIPPUS et LECIA dederunt ipsi PHILIPPO DE DINE viginti marcas argenti.



XXV.—(19.)

[5 June, 1198, 9 Ric. I.]

A Mortgage.

(Maurice de Perieres quitclaims to Eudo Pateric a debt of twenty pounds for twelve pounds ten shillings, which the said Eudo has assigned to said Maurice, to be received out of his rents within five years, by the hands of tenants who have acknowledged themselves, in Court, as liable to fifty shillings of rent each to said Eudo.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die Veneris proxima post octavas Sancti Trinitatis, anno regni Regis Ricardi ix^{no}.

Coram domino H. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Ricardo Eliensi Archidiacono, magistro Thoma de Husseburne, Willelmo de Warenne, Ricardo de Herierd, Osberto filio Heruei, Johanne de Gestliges, Justiciariis, et aliis Baronibus et fidelibus domini Regis tunc ibi presentibus.

Inter MAURICIUM DE PERIERES, petentem, et EUDONEM PATERIC, debentem.

De xx libris argenti quas idem MAURICIUS clamat versus predictum EUDONEM in prefata Curia.

Scilicet quod predictus MAURICIUS remisit et quietas clamavit predicto EUDONI predictas xx libras, pro xij libris argenti et dimidiam, quas idem EUDO assignavit predicto MAURICIO, recipiendas de redditu suo infra v annos, scilicet, per manum Hen-

rici presbiteri, et per manum Ade Petevin, et per manum Ricardi de Idele, et per manum Emme de Sancier; scilicet, de his omnibus quinquaginta solidos annuatim. Nam predicti Henricus et Adam et Ricardus et Emma recognoverunt in Curia domini Regis, quod tantum ei debuerunt annuatim de censu.

Terminus iste primus incipiet a Natali proximo post intronizationem Eustacii Eliensis Episcopi.

XXVI.—(23.)

[7 June, 1198, 9 Ric. I.]

(John Bretel and Robert his son acknowledge forty-five acres in Street to be the right of the Archbishop of Canterbury and his successors. The Archbishop gives twenty-seven marks for this acknowledgment.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, in xv dies post festum Sancte Trinitatis, anno regni Regis Ricardi ix^{no}.

Coram Ricardo Eliensi Archidiacono, magistro Thoma de Husseburne, Willelmo de Warenn, Ricardo de Herierd, Osberto filio Heruei, Johanne de Gestliges, Justiciariis, et aliis Baronibus et fidelibus domini Regis tunc ibi presentibus.

Inter dominum H. CANTUARIENSEM ARCHIEPISCOPUM, petentem, et JOHANNEM BRETEL, et ROBERTUM filium suum, tenentes.

De xlv acris terre, cum pertinentiis, in STRATES.¹

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predicti JOHANNES et ROBERTUS recognoverunt totas predictas xlv acras terre, cum pertinentiis, esse jus predicti Archiepiscopi et successorum ejus.

Et pro hac recognicione et quieto clamio, predictus H. Archiepiscopus dedit predictis JOHANNI et ROBERTO xxvij marcas argenti.

John Bretel =

1198.

Robert Bretel.

1198.

¹ ? The Borough of Street, in Minster Thanet, or the Hundred of Street.

XXVII.—(45.)

[5th November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(In a recognizance of Mortdauncestor, Augustine Fitz Arnulf and Robert his brother, and Roger de la Cleigate, quitclaim to Theodbald de Scipburn three acres in Shipbourne, for twenty shillings sterling.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Beremundeseiam, die Jovis proxima post festum Omnium Sanctorum, anno regni Regis Ricardi x.

Coram G. filio Petri,¹ Stephano de Torneham, Simone de Pateshill, Johanne de Gestliges, Jacobo de Poterne, Justiciariis, et aliis Baronibus domini Regis tunc ibi presentibus.

Inter ANGERUM filium ARNULFI, et ROBERTUM fratrem suum, et ROGERUM DE LA CLAIGATE, petentes, et THEODBALDUM DE SCIPBURN, tenentem.

De iij acris terre, cum pertinentiis, in SCIPBURNE.

Unde recognicio de morte antecessoris summonita fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predicti ANGERUS et ROBERTUS et ROGERUS, remiserunt et quietum clamaverunt predicto THEODBALDO et heredibus suis, totum jus et clamium quod habuerunt in predicta terra, de se et heredibus suis, in perpetuum.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et quieto clamio, predictus THEODBALDUS dedit predictis ANGERO, et ROBERTO, et ROGERO, xx solidos esterlingorum.

XXVIII.—(28.)

[6th November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(In a recognizance of Mortdauncestor, John de Scipherste quitclaims to Nicholas Fitz William and his heirs two acres and a half in Sipherste.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Beremundeseiam, die Veneris proxima post festum Omnium Sanctorum, anno regni Regis Ricardi x.

Coram G. filio Petri, etc.² [ut in No. 27.]

¹ Geoffrey Fitz Piers, Chief Justice. He was afterwards, by King John, created Earl of Essex.

² The Court consisted of the same Judges in all the Fines from No. 27 to No. 47; in these instances, therefore, it will not be necessary to repeat the names.

Inter JOHANNEM DE SIPHERSTE, petentem, et NICOLAUM filium WILLELMI, tenentem.

De ij acris terre et dimidia, cum pertinentiis, in SIPHERSTE.¹

Unde recognicio de morte antecessoris summonita fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predictus JOHANNES remisit et quietum clamavit predicto NICOLAO et heredibus suis, totum jus et clamium quod habet in predicta terra, de se et heredibus suis, in perpetuum.

XXIX.—(36.)

[7th November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(In a recognizance of Mortdauncestor, Ralph de Hodeshole acknowledges ten acres in Southfleet to be the right and inheritance of Jordan, Simon, John, and William, sons of Roger, in Southfleet, for one mark.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Beremundeseiam, die Sabbati proxima ante festum Sancti Martini, anno regni Regis Ricardi x.

Coram G. filio Petri, etc. [ut in No. 27.]

Inter JORDANUM, et SIMONEM, et JOHANNEM, et WILLELMUM filii (*sic*) ROGERI, petentes, et RADULPHUM DE HODESHOLE, tenentem.

De x acris terre, cum pertinentiis, in SUDFLETE.

Unde recognicio de morte antecessoris summonita fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predictus RADULPHUS recognovit totam predictam terram, cum pertinentiis, esse jus et hereditatem predictorum JORDANI et SIMONIS et JOHANNIS et WILLELMI.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et recognicione, predicti JORDANUS et SIMON et JOHANNES et WILLELMUS dederunt predicto RADULPHO j marcā argenti.

XXX.—(31.)

[Sunday, 9th November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(In a recognizance of Mortdauncestor, Ralph de Hodeshole acknowledges three acres in Southfleet as the right and inheritance of Jordan, Simon, John, and William, sons of Roger, for half a mark.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud

¹ Probably Shiphurst, a manor in Marden.

Beremundeseiam, die Lune proxima ante festum Sancti Martini, anno regni Regis Ricardi x.

Coram G. filio Petri, etc. [ut in No. 27.]

Inter JORDANUM et SIMONEM et JOHANNEM et WILLELMUM filii (*sic*) ROGERI, petentes, et RADULPHUM DE HODESHOLE, tenentem.

De tribus acris terre, cum pertinentiis, in SUDFLETE.

Unde recognicio de morte antecessoris summonita fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet, quod predictus RADULPHUS recognovit totam predictam terram, cum pertinentiis, esse jus et hereditatem predictorum JORDANI et SIMONIS et JOHANNIS et WILLELMI.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et recognicione, predicti JORDANUS et SIMON et JOHANNES et WILLELMUS dederunt predicto RADULPHO dimidiam marcam argenti.

XXXI.—(32.)

[9th November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(In a recognizance of Mortdauncestor, Nicholas Fitz William acknowledges half a virgate¹ of land in Sheldwich, to be the right and inheritance of John de Scipherste; for which the said John gives the said Nicholas five acres and three parts of an acre of the same land, in the field of Stocket, to be held of him and his heirs, by the said Nicholas and his heirs, by one shilling per annum.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Beremundeseiam, die Lune proxima ante festum Sancti Martini, anno regni Regis Ricardi x.

Coram G. filio Petri, etc. [ut in No. 27.]

Inter JOHANNEM DE SCIPHERSTE, petentem, et NICOLAUM filium WILLELMI, tenentem.

De dimidia virgata terre, cum pertinentiis, in SCELDWIKE.

Unde recognicio de morte antecessoris summonita fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predictus NICOLAUS recognovit totam predictam terram, cum pertinentiis, ut jus et hereditatem predicti JOHANNIS.

¹ The virgate, or yardland, varied too much to assign its proper measure with any certainty; sometimes it is a quarter of a hide, sometimes fifteen, twenty, or thirty acres. "Virgate," in its more ordinary use, is a rood, a quarter of an acre. See note, p. 252.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et recognitione, predictus JOHANNES dedit predicto NICOLAO v acras terre et 3 partes j acre terre, cum pertinentiis, de eadem terra ; scilicet, in campo de STOCKET, tenendas de se et de heredibus suis, sibi et heredibus suis, in perpetuum, per liberum servicium xij denariorum per annum, pro omni servicio, reddendorum ad duos terminos anni ; scilicet, ad festum Sancti Michaelis vj denarios, et ad Pascham vj denarios.

XXXII.—(46.)

[9th November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(In a recognizance of Mortdauncestor, William Fitz Bruning acknowledges half a virgate of land in Sheldwich to John de Sipherste, as his right and inheritance ; for which the said John gives the said William one acre and a half in the field of Harige (Marige?) to be held of him and his heirs, by said William and his heirs, by service of eightpence per annum. The said John further gives the said William five shillings sterling.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Beremundeseiam, die Lune proxima ante festum Sancti Martini, anno regni Regis Ricardi x^o.

Coram G. filio Petri, etc. [ut in No. 27.]

Inter JOHANNEM DE SIPHERSTE, petentem, et WILLELMUM filium BRUNING,¹ tenentem.

De dimidia virgata terre, cum pertinentiis, in SCELDWIK.

Unde recognicio de morte antecessoris summonita fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predictus WILLELMUS recognovit totam predictam terram, cum pertinentiis, esse jus et hereditatem predicti JOHANNIS.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et recognicione, predictus JOHANNES dedit predicto WILLELMO j acram terre et dimidiam, in campo de HARIGE,² tenendam de se et de heredibus suis, sibi et heredibus suis, in perpetuum, per liberum servicium viij denariorum per annum pro omni servicio, reddendorum ad ij terminos anni ; scilicet, ad festum Sancti Michaelis iiij denarios, et ad Pascham iiij denarios.

Et preter hoc, predictus JOHANNES dedit predicto WILLELMO v solidos esterlingorum.

¹ ? Briming.

² ? Marige.

XXXIII.—(33.)

[10th November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(Matilda de Orlaneston quitclaims to Anscull de Cranford and his heirs, all her claim for dower in the fifth part of a knight's-fee in Ripple, Newemad, and Pukehale; for which the said Anscull grants her, for her life, a rent of eighteen-pence in Romney, to be received by her from the hands of Ralph de Orlaneston. He also gives her forty shillings sterling.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Bermundeseiam, die Martis proxima ante festum Sancti Martini, anno regni Regis Ricardi x^o.

Coram G. filio Petri, etc. [ut in No. 27.]

Inter MATILDAM DE ORLANESTON, petentem, et ANSCULLUM DE CRANFORD, tenentem.

De rationabili dote sua de v parte j militis, cum pertinentiis, in RIPLE et NEWEMAD et PUKEHALE, quam ipsa clamat versus predictum ANSCULLUM, in prefata Curia.

Scilicet quod predicta MATILDA remisit et quietum clamavit predicto ANSCULLO et heredibus suis, totum jus et clamium quod habet in tercia parte predicti feodi, in perpetuum.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et quieto clamio, predictus ANSCULLUS dedit predictæ MATILDE, in vita sua, xvij denarios redditus in RUMENELL, recipiendos per manum Radulphi de Orlaneston.

Et preter hoc, predictus ANSCULLUS dedit predictæ MATILDE xl solidos sterlingorum.

XXXIV.—(37.)

[10th November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(In a writ of Mortdauncestor, Ralph Fitz Thomas had claimed of Hamo Fitz William thirteen shillings rent out of one virgate in Newchurch. He now grants the said land to said Hamo and his heirs, to be held of him and his heirs by the free service of seven shillings and fivepence halfpenny per annum, in lieu of all service, except "forinsecum servicium," for which the said Hamo gives him forty shillings.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta, in Curia domini Regis, apud Beremundeseiam, die Martis proxima ante festum Sancti Martini, anno regni Regis Ricardi x^o.

Coram G. filio Petri, etc. [ut in No. 27.]

Inter RADULPHUM filium THOME, petentem, et HAMONEM filium WILLELMII, tenentem.

De una virgata terre, cum pertinentiis, in parochia de NEWE-CERCHE.

De qua predictus RADULPHUS exigebat xiiij solidos, per breve de morte antecessoris, versus predictum HAMONEM, in prefata Curia.

Scilicet quod prefatus RADULPHUS concessit predicto HAMONI et heredibus suis, totam predictam terram, tenendam de se et de heredibus suis, in perpetuum, per liberum servicium vij solidorum et v denariorum et oboli per annum, pro omni servicio, salvo forinseco servicio, reddendorum ad iiij terminos anni; scilicet, ad festum Sancti Thome Apostoli ij solidos, et ad Pascha Floridum xvij denarios et obolum, et ad festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste ij solidos, et ad festum Sancti Michaelis ij solidos.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et concessione, predictus HAMONUS¹ dedit predicto RADULPHO xl solidos.

XXXV.—(38.)

[10th November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(John Maletterre acknowledges one messuage in Ewell, and twenty shillings rent, and two acres outside the Cemetery of St. Leonard's, and the service of half a knight's-fee, which William de Eston held of the said John, to be the right and inheritance of Hugh de Dudinton, to be held of him the said John Maletterre, and his heirs, by said Hugh and his heirs, by free service of one pound of pepper per annum, for all service except "forinsecum servicium." For which the said Hugh gives him forty shillings sterling.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Beremundeseiam, die Martis proxima ante festum Sancti Martini, anno regni Regis Ricardi x^o.

Coram G. filio Petri, etc. [ut in No. 27.]

Inter HUGONEM DE DUDINTON, petentem, et JOHANNEM MALETERRE,² tenentem.

De uno mesuagio, cum pertinentiis, in EWELLE,³ et de xx soli-

¹ *Sic.*

² It is "Malete."

³ Probably Ewell and St. Leonard's in Malling. The church of Ewell

dis redditus, et de ij acris terre extra Cimiterium Sancti LEONARDI, et de servicio feodi dimidii militis, quod WILLELMUS DE ESTON tenuit de predicto JOHANNE.

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predictus JOHANNES recognovit totam predictam terram, cum pertinentiis, esse jus et hereditatem predicti HUGONIS, tenendam de se et de heredibus suis, sibi et heredibus suis, in perpetuum, per liberum servicium unius libre piperis per annum, pro omni servicio, reddende ad Natale, salvo forinseco servicio.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et recognicione, predictus Hugo dedit predicto JOHANNI xl solidos esterlingorum.

XXXVI.—(42.)

[10th November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(In a recognizance of Mortdauncestor, Baldwin Fitz Mathew quitclaims to Richard de Seuelde and Agatha his wife, and their heirs, all claim which he had in thirty-two acres in Dene; for which the said Richard and Agatha give the said Baldwin sixteen acres of Wareland,¹ of the same land which lies in Dene, and five marks.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Bermundeseie, die Martis proxima ante festum Sancti Martini, anno regni Regis Ricardi x^o.

Coram G. filio Petri, etc. [ut in No. 27.]

Inter BALDEWINUM filium MATHEI, petentem, et RICARDUM DE SEUELDEN, et AGATHAM uxorem ejus, tenentes.

De xxxij acris in DEN.²

Unde recognicio de morte antecessoris summonita fuit inter

near Dover was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, not to St. Leonard, and the manor of Ewell seems to have been in St. Leonard's Malling.

¹ "Warect" land is fallow land,—*inde, warectare*, 'to fallow.' The term Wareland, Warland, frequently occurs in early records. It is not easy to determine its precise meaning in all instances. It generally signifies land left fallow for a certain number of years, in order to recover itself; but there are instances in which it might perhaps be inferred that the land had never been taken into cultivation.

² *i. e.* Dene. Which of the manors of Dene (for there were several in the county), it would be difficult to decide.

eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predictus BALDEWINUS remisit et quietum clamavit RICARDO et AGATHE predictis, et heredibus suis, totum jus et clamium quod habuit in predicta terra, de se et heredibus suis, in perpetuum.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et quieto clamio, predictus RICARDUS, et AGATHA uxor ejus, dederunt prefato BALDEWINO xvj acras terre Wareland, cum pertinenciis, de eadem terra que jacet in DENE, et v marcas argenti.

Richard de Seueden = Agatha.
1198. 1198.

XXXVII.—(44.)

[10th November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(Benedict de Wodnesberge quitclaims to Beatrice de Betlesengre, two acres in Buckland, for forty-four shillings sterling.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Bermundeseiam, die Martis proxima ante festum Sancti Martini, anno regni Regis Ricardi x^o.

Coram G. filio Petri, etc. [ut in No. 27.]

Inter BENEDICTUM DE WODNESBERGE, petentem, et BEATRICEM DE BETLESENGRE, tenentem.

De ij acris terre, cum pertinentiis, in BOCKLAND.

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in predicta Curia, scilicet quod predictus BENEDICTUS remisit et quietum clamavit predictae BEATRICI, et heredibus suis, totum jus et clamium quod habuit in predicta terra, de se et heredibus suis, in perpetuum.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et quieto clamio, prefata BEATRIX dedit prefato BENEDICTO xliij solidos sterlingorum.

XXXVIII.—(47.)

[10th November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(In a recognizance of Mortdauncestor, Richard Fitz Edward quitclaims to Elfric de Kemesle, one acre and a half and the third part of half an acre in Detling, for half a mark.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud

Beremundeseiam, die Martis proxima ante festum Sancti Martini, anno regni Regis Ricardi x^o.

Coram G. filio Petri, etc. [ut in No 27.]

Inter RICARDUM filium EDWARDI, petentem, et ELFRICUM DE KEMESLE, tenentem.

De j acra et dimidia et tercia parte dimidie acre, cum pertinentiis in DETLINGE.

Unde recognicio de morte antecessoris summonita fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predictus RICARDUS remisit et quietum clamavit predicto ELFRICO, et heredibus suis, totum jus et clamium quod habuit in predicta terra, de se et heredibus suis, in perpetuum.

Pro hoc fine et concordia et quieto clamio, prefatus ELFRICUS dedit prefato RICARDO dimidiam marcā argenti.

XXXIX.—(34.)

[11th November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(In a recognizance of Mortdauncestor, Hamo Fitz Algar quitclaims to Ralph de Dene and his heirs seven acres of land in Chilham; for which the said Ralph gives the said Hamo four of the said seven acres which lie in the field of Dene, and Hamo and Ralph shall hold the land of the chief lord.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Bermundeseiam, die Sancti Martini, anno regni Regis Ricardi x^o.

Coram G. filio Petri, etc. [ut in No. 27.]

Inter HAMONEM filium ALGARI, petentem, et RADULPHUM DE DENE, tenentem.

De vij acris terre, cum pertinentiis, in CHILLEHAM.

Unde recognicio de morte antecessoris summonita fuit inter eos in predicta Curia, scilicet quod prefatus HAMO remisit et quietum clamavit predicto RADULPHO et heredibus suis, totum jus et clamium quod habuit in predicta terra, de se et heredibus suis, in perpetuum.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et quieto clamio, predictus RADULPHUS dedit prefato HAMONI iiij acras terre de predictis vij acris in CHILLEHAM, que jacent in campo de DENE. Et predicti HAMO et RADULPHUS tenebunt predictam terram de capitali domino.

XL.—(35).

[11th November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(In a recognizance of Mortdauncestor, Robert Polre acknowledges five acres of land in Langeporte¹ to be the right and inheritance of John Fitz Gilbert, for two marks and a half.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Bermundeseiam, in die Sancti Martini, anno regni Regis Ricardi x^o.

Coram G. filio Petri, etc. [ut in No. 27.]

Inter JOHANNEM filium GILEBERTI, petentem, et ROBERTUM POLRE, tenentem.

De v acris terre, cum pertinentiis, in LANGEPORT.

Unde recognicio de morte antecessoris summonita fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predictus ROBERTUS recognovit totam predictam terram, cum pertinentiis, esse jus et hereditatem predicti JOHANNIS.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et recognicione, predictus JOHANNES dedit predicto ROBERTO ij marcas argenti et dimidiam.

XLI.—(39.)

[11th November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(Peter de Ledes acknowledges five acres in Leeds to be the right and inheritance of Robert Fitz Turkill; for which the said Robert gives the said Peter three acres of the said land nearest the croft next the capital mansion, and one acre and a half of the same in Westeroft. The said Robert and Peter shall hold the said land of the chief lord.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Bermundeseiam, die Sancti Martini, anno regni Regis Ricardi x^o.

Coram G. filio Petri, etc. [ut in No. 27.]

Inter ROBERTUM filium TURKILL, petentem, et PETRUM DE LEDES, tenentem.

De v acris terre in LEDES.

Unde recognicio summonita fuit inter eos in prefata Curia,

¹ There were two manors in Lid, called Old Langport and New Langport, giving name to the hundred of Langport.

scilicet quod predictus PETRUS recognovit totam prefatam terram, cum pertinentiis, esse jus et hereditatem predicti ROBERTI.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et recognicione, predictus ROBERTUS dedit predicto PETRO iij acras terre, cum pertinentiis, de predicta terra, propinquiores crofta¹ que est propinquior capitali mesuagio; et in WESTCROFTA j acram et dimidiam terre, cum pertinentiis, de predicta terra.

Et predicti ROBERTUS et PETRUS tenebunt predictam terram de capitali domino.

XLII.—(48.)

[11th November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(In a recognizance of Mortdauncestor, Robert Riketal quitclaims to Hawise, widow of William le Warin, and Adam and Robert her sons, and their heirs, one virgate in Street.)

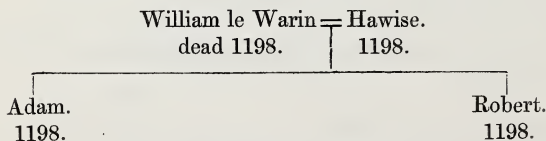
Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Beremundeseiam, in die Sancti Martini, anno regni Regis Ricardi x^o.

Coram G. filio Petri, etc. [ut in No. 27.]

Inter ROBERTUM RIKETAL, petentem, et HAWISIAM que fuit uxor WILLELMI LE WARIN, et ADAM et ROBERTUM filios ejus, tenentes.

De j virgata terre, cum pertinentiis, in STRATES.²

Unde recognicio de morte antecessoris summonita fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predictus ROBERTUS remisit et quietum clamavit predictis HAWISIE et ADAM et ROBERTO, et heredibus eorum, totum jus et clamium quod habuit in predicta terra, de se et heredibus suis, in perpetuum.



¹ Sic in original, doubtless an error for "crofte."

² ? The borough of Street, in Minster, Thanet, or the hundred of Street.

XLIII.—(41.)

[17th November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(In a recognizance of Mortdauncestor, Gilo de Badelesmare, for the souls of his father and mother, and ancestors, quitclaims to Dunstan, Prior of St. Gregory's, Canterbury, and his successors, a rent of two seams of oats in Ridley. The said Prior will celebrate the anniversary of Gilo's father yearly.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die Sancti Clementis, anno regni Regis Ricardi x^o.

Coram G. filio Petri, etc. [ut in No. 27.]

Inter GILONEM DE BADELESMARE, petentem, et DONSTANUM, Priorem de SANCTO GREGORIO, CANTUARIE, tenentem.

De redditu duarum sumarum avene in RIDDELEE.

Unde recognicio de morte antecessoris summonita fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predictus GILO, pro anima patris et matris suorum, et antecessorum suorum, remisit et quietum clamavit predicto PRIORI, et successoribus suis, totum jus et clamium quod habuit in predicto redditu, de se et heredibus suis, in perpetuum.

Et predictus PRIOR concessit, intuitu caritatis, predicto GILONI, quod faciet anniversarium patris sui, singulis annis.

XLIV.—(27.)

[21st November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(Adam de Kersiges and Beatrice his wife quitclaim to Osbert de Longo Campo and Aveline his wife, and their heirs, two marks rent in Ovenhill : for which the said Osbert and Aveline give the said Adam and Beatrice, and their heirs, the service of Albricius de Stidstede, viz. sixteen shillings and eightpence, out of five acres of Ware which he holds in Stidstede, and the service of John le Bergourne, viz. twelve shillings per annum out of ten acres of Ware, which he holds in the same ville, to hold, to them and their heirs, by the free service of five shillings per annum. The said Osbert de Longo Campo takes the homage of said Adam in the said Court, and Adam takes the homage of said Albricius and John in said Court.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud

Westmonasterium, die Sabbati proxima post festum Sancti Ædmundi, anno regni Regis Ricardi x^o.

Coram G. filio. [ut in No. 27.]

Inter ADAM DE KERSIGES et BEATRICEM uxorem suam, petentes, per ipsum Adam, positum loco predictæ Beatricis ad lucrandum vel perdendum, et OSBERTUM DE LONGO CAMPO et AVELINAM uxorem suam, tenentes, per ipsum Osbertum, positum loco predictæ Aveline ad lucrandum vel perdendum.

De redditu ij marcarum in OVENHILL.

Unde placitum fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, quod predicti ADAM et BEATRIX remiserunt et quietum clamaverunt predictis OSBERTO et AVELINE uxori sue, et heredibus eorum, totum jus et clamium quod habuerunt in predicto redditu, de se et heredibus eorum, in perpetuum.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et quieto clamio, predicti OSBERTUS et AVELINA uxor sua, dederunt predictis ADE et BEATRICI, et heredibus eorum, totum servicium Albricii de Stidstede; scilicet, xvj solidos et viij denarios per annum, de v acris de Ware, quas tenet in STIDSTEDE;¹ et servicium Johannis le Bergourne, scilicet, xij solidos per annum, de x acris de Ware, quas tenet in eadem villa; tenenda de eis et de heredibus eorum, in perpetuum, per liberum servicium v solidorum per annum, pro omni servicio, reddendorum ad duos terminos anni, scilicet, ad Natale Domini ij solidos et vj denarios, et ad Pascham duos solidos et vj denarios.

Et hec concordia facta est concessu et voluntate predictorum ALBRICII et JOHANNIS.

Et de predictis tenementis predictus OSBERTUS DE LONGO CAMPO cepit homagium predicti ADE in prefata Curia. Et predictus ADAM cepit homagium predictorum ALBRICII et JOHANNIS, in predicta Curia.

¹ Probably this is Stisted, in Essex. In the Rot. Fin. we have:—“ESSEX.—Hugo filius Ricardi de Stistede, de comitatu Essexie, et Alicia uxor ejus, dant Regi xl^s pro Recordo cujusdam loquele que fuit coram Justiciariis itinerantibus in comitatu Kancie, in ultimo itinere suo ibidem, inter predictos Hugonem et Aliciam, et Osbertum de Longo Campo, per breve Regis de medio, et distringantur per Vicecomitem Essexie.”

XLV.—(43.)

[27th November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(In a recognizance of Mortdauncestor, Robert Sired acknowledges nine acres in Stodmarsh to be the right and inheritance of Michael de Pukeleston; for which the said Michael gives the said Robert four acres and a half of the same land adjoining the monastery of Stodmarsh to the north, to be held of him and his heirs, by the said Robert and his heirs, by the free service of threepence per annum.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die Veneris proxima post festum Sancte Katerine, anno regni Regis Ricardi xº.

Coram G. filio Petri, etc. [ut in No. 27.]

Inter MICHALEM de PUKELESTON, petentem, et ROBERTUM SIREM, tenentem.

De ix acris terre, cum pertinentiis, in STODMARSE.

Unde recognicio de morte antecessoris summonita fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet, quod predictus ROBERTUS recognovit totam predictam terram, cum pertinentiis, esse jus et hereditatem predicti MICHAELIS.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et recognicione, predictus MICHAEL dedit predicto ROBERTO iij acras terre et dimidiam, de eadem terra que jacet juxta monasterium de STODMARSE, versus boream, tenendas de se et de heredibus suis, sibi et heredibus suis, in perpetuum, per liberum servitium iij denariorum per annum, pro omni servicio, reddendorum ad festum Sancti Michaelis.

XLVI.—(40.)

[28th November, 1198, 10 Ric. I.]

(In a recognizance of Mortdauncestor, Stephen and William Fitz Ordric quitclaim to Herlewin de Pockestun nine acres in Stodmarsh; for which, the said Herlewin gives them half an acre of the same land in Pockestun, in the field next the said Herlewin's house, on the north; and half an acre of wood, next his Curtilage, on the west; and half his Curtilage in the said ville, on the north, to hold to the said Stephen and William and their heirs, of the Abbot of St. Augustine, who is lord of the fee. The said Herlewin will acquit the said land as against the said Abbot, and shall hold all the residue of the land in Pockeston of the said Stephen and

William and their heirs, to him and his heirs for ever, by sixpence per annum. For this, the said Herlewin has given the said Stephen and William ten shillings sterling.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die Sabbati proxima post festum Sancte Katerine, anno regni Regis Ricardi x^o.

Coram G. filio Petri, etc. [ut in No. 27.]

Inter STEPHANUM et WILLELMUM filios ORDRICI, petentes, et HERLEWINUM DE POCLESTON, tenentem.

De ix acris terre, cum pertinentiis, in STODMERSE.

Unde recognicio de morte antecessoris summonita fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet, quod predicti STEPHANUS et WILLELMUS remiserunt et quietum clamaverunt totum jus et clamium quod habuerunt in predicta terra de STODMARSE, de se et heredibus suis, prefato HERLEWINO et heredibus suis, in perpetuum.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et quietam clamancia, predictus HERLEWINUS dedit prefatis STEPHANO et WILLELMO, de eadem terra, dimidiam acram terre, cum pertinentiis, in POCLESTON, in campo scilicet juxta domum ejusdem HERLEWINI, versus boream; et dimidiam acram bosci, cum pertinentiis, juxta Curtillagium suum, versus occidentem, et dimidium Curtillagii sui in eadem villa, versus boream. Tenendum eisdem STEPHANO et WILLELMO, et heredibus eorum, de Abbate Sancti Augustini, qui dominus est feodi, in perpetuum. Et idem HERLEWINUS aquietabit predictam terram erga prefatum abbatem. Prenominatus autem HERLEWINUS tenebit totum residuum terre, cum pertinentiis, in POCLESTON, de eisdem STEPHANO et WILLELMO, et heredibus eorum, sibi et heredibus suis, in perpetuum. Reddendo eis inde annuatim vj^d, pro omni servicio, ad festum scilicet Sancti Michaelis.

Et pro hoc predictus HERLEWINUS dedit prefatis STEPHANO et WILLELMO x solidos esterlingorum.

XLVII.—(29.)

[31st January, 1198-9, 10 Ric. I. ?]

(In a recognizance of Mortdauncestor, William de Enemere acknowledges fifteen acres in River, to be the right and inheritance of William

Fitz John, and quitclaims them to him and his heirs for ever; for this, the said William Fitz John gives the said William de Enemere nine shillings sterling.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, die dominica proxima post Conversionem Sancti Pauli, anno regni Regis [x°?].

Coram G. filio Petri, etc. [ut in No. 27.]

Inter WILLELMUM filium JOHANNIS, petentem, et WILLELMUM DE ENEMERE, tenentem.

De xv acris terre, cum pertinentiis, in RIPERIA.

Unde recognicio de morte antecessoris summonita fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predictus WILLELMUS DE ENEMERE recognovit totam predictam terram de RIPERIA, cum pertinentiis, esse jus et hereditatem ipsius WILLELMI filii JOHANNIS, et eam reddidit et quietam clamavit, de se et heredibus suis, eidem WILLELMO filio JOHANNIS et heredibus suis, in perpetuum.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et recognicione et quietam clamancia, predictus WILLELMUS filius JOHANNIS dedit prefato WILLELMO DE ENEMERE ix solidos esterlingorum.

XLVIII.—(30.)

[3rd February, 1198-9, 10 Ric. I.]

(In a recognizance of Mortdauncestor, Simon Fitz William quitclaims to Osbert Fitz Lucy two parts of a yoke of land in Shepay for one mark.)

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Curia domini Regis apud Westmonasterium, in die Sancti Blasii, anno regni Regis Ricardi x°.

Coram G. filio Petri, S. de Tornham, S. de Pateshull, R. de Herierd, Johanne de Gestliges, Jacobo de Poterne, R. Flandrensi, Justiciariis, Baronibus domini Regis tunc ibi presentibus.

Inter SIMONEM filium WILLELMI, petentem, et OSBERTUM filium LUCIE, tenentem.

De duabus partibus j jugati terre, cum pertinenciis, in SCAPEIA.

Unde recognicio de morte antecessoris summonita fuit inter eos in prefata Curia, scilicet quod predictus SIMON remisit et quietum clamavit predicto OSBERTO et heredibus suis, totum

jus et clamium quod habuit in predicta terra, de se et heredi-
bus suis, in perpetuum.

Et pro hoc fine et concordia et quieto clamio, predictus
OSBERTUS dedit predicto SIMONI j marcā argenti.

This is the last of the Kent Fines, temp. Ric. I., the period beyond which "legal memory" reaches not.¹ We have transcribed all that are extant of that reign *verbatim*, except in the few instances where we have avoided the unnecessary repetition of names.

It will be an appropriate conclusion to these pages, if we add a few words on some of the forms in which surnames appear in ancient records. When we meet with such names as "John de Aldington" or "William de Burham," it does not follow that "de Aldington" or "de Burham" were decided surnames; it may imply only "John of Aldington" or "William of Burham." Generally speaking, if the name be that of the lord of the manor, as "Robert de Leybourne," it had become the settled surname of the family; but in numerous instances it would only imply that the party was an inhabitant of the place named. With regard to the use of "Fitz" in proper names, it is well to observe that, although in the abstracts prefixed to each of the Fines, we have always so rendered the Latin "filius," it by no means follows that the surname of the party is thereby determined. For instance, in "fil Petri" we at once recognize the well known name of Fitz Piers, Earl of Essex, but Osbertus filius Lucie is not necessarily Osbert fitz Lucy, it may merely stand for Osbert son of Lucy. Guarding ourselves with these precautionary remarks, we shall continue the practice which in this respect we have hitherto adopted.

¹ The terms which we usually meet with in pleadings, in reference to this period, are—"a tempore quo non extat memoria," and "infra tempus memorie."

Much caution, too, is required in any attempt to identify parishes, viles, and manors. There is often nothing but the name to guide us, and on this alone no secure dependence can be placed. In Kent there are instances of four and even five parishes of the same name. There are manors in one part of the county bearing the same name as parishes at its opposite extremity; and we have often nothing in the context to lead us even to a safe conjecture.

The Fine for a messuage in EWELL, No. XXXV. p. 265, is a case in point. There is a parish named EWELL, and a manor of the same name in MALLING, but, in the Fine itself, there is nothing to determine to which of the two it relates. For the reasons, however, given in the note, we may hazard a conjecture that the latter of the two places is the subject of the Fine.

So with regard to No. XXIII., p. 225, the manor of GODINTON being partly in STROOD and partly in the next adjoining parish, FRINDSBURY, first impressions might lead to the supposition that the FERNIBERGE and FRENIBERGE of our Fine are to be identified with the modern Frindsbury; its terms being, "the two knight's-fees which John de Godinton holds of the fee of Simon de Chelesfeld, half in FERNIBERGE and half in STRODES. But, besides the evidence contained in the Book of Knights'-fees, cited in the "Addenda," p. 288, the following circumstances almost necessarily lead to the conclusion that FARNBOROUGH, and not Frindsbury, is the place designated by FERNIBERGE and FRENIBERGE.

1.—In the twelfth century, the boundaries of parishes were not so strictly defined as to necessitate the actual mention of FRINDSBURY in describing the knight's-fee, even though part of it may have extended from Strood into that parish.

2.—In the Book of Fees cited in the "Addenda," p. 288, the two half-knight's-fees of GODINTON are en-

tered therein in accord with our Fine, as in STROOD, without any mention of FRINDSBURY.

In "Testa de Nevill," too, a record of Knights'-fees made about ninety years after the date of our Fine, these two half-knights'-fees are similarly entered, without any allusion to FRINDSBURY. For among the Fees of the Earl of Leicester in that record, we find "*half a fee in STRODES held of Simon de Chelesfeld, and he of Geoffrey Scoland, and he of the Earl Leycester;*" and "*Alan de Godinton half a fee in STRODES of Geoffrey de Scoland, and he of the Earl of Leycester.*"

3.—Our Fine speaks of REGINALD FLEMENG as holding of Simon de Chelesfeld "one knight's-fee in FRENIBERGE." In "Testa de Nevill," among the fees of the Earl of Leicester, JOHN DE FLEMINGE is entered as holding of SIMON DE CHELSFELD one fee in "FARNBERGE." In the Book of Knights'-fees (see "Addenda") the heirs of JOHN FLEMING hold of SIMON DE CHELLESFELD one fee in FERNBERGH and CHELLESFELD, and this is entered under the manor of "FARNBOROUGH."

4.—In the same Book of Fees, we find a manor of GODYNGTON entered under the hundred of Ruxley, in connection with the manor of CHELSFELD, (FARNBOROUGH and CHELSFIELD being neighbouring parishes in that hundred,)—and this entry is totally distinct from that of the manor of Godinton, in Strodes, under the hundred of Shamel.

5.—The form of the name FERNIBERGE almost necessarily points to FARNBOROUGH; even FRENIBERGE could hardly have been the form in which FRINDSBURY would have been written. In Domesday it is FRANDESBERIE, and in ancient charters FREONDESBYRY.

In instances like these, we do not pretend to more than the best conjecture we can offer, until subsequent Fines, or other sources of information, supply the evidence which we need to complete identification.

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ERRATA AND ADDENDA TO "PEDES FINIUM."

Page 224, after line 6, we ought to have added a few words as to the form in which we give the diphthong æ. In making our transcripts we adopted the single e as it appears in the originals, not being aware at the time of the "General Directions for the guidance of Editors," laid down by the Government in the publications issued under the authority of the Master of the Rolls, or we should, in this respect, have conformed ourselves to their regulations.

No. XII.—MERE is the manor of MERE COURT in RAINHAM.

Note to No. XIV.—Dugdale states that Walter de Bolebec left two daughters as his coheireses: the one, Isabel, married to Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who died 5 Hen. III.; the other (whose Christian name was unknown to him), wife of Elias de Bello Campo. This name, "Constance," our *Fine* supplies. There are other points of pedigree suggested in it.

The nature of the apportionments made by the *Fine* would imply that Ruellinus de Abrincis claimed through one of the sisters. The conjecture that he might have been the husband of Isabel (before her marriage with the Earl of Oxford) is invalidated by the fact that she is not made a party to the *Fine*, which, in that case she would have been; and her buildings are mentioned in it as distinct from the portion of Ruellinus.

On the Pipe Roll, 2 Ric. I. there is this entry:—"Comes Albricus reddit compositum de D marcis pro habenda filia Walteri de Bolebeck ad opus filii sui;" and on Pipe Roll, 9 John, we have:—"Robertus de Ver cc marcas et iij palefridos pro habenda in uxorem Y de Bolebec, si ipsa voluerit, ita quod si eam duxerit in uxorem ipse reddet finem quem ipsa Y fecit ne distringatur ad se maritandam per placitum comitis Albrici." There was, therefore, no previous marriage to that with the Earl of Oxford.

By Inquisition on death of this Robert, Earl of Oxford, taken at FLETE in Kent, Friday after Michaelmas, 24 Edw. I., it is returned that he held the manor of Flete, next Sandwich, of John son of John de Sandwyco, by service of *one knight's-fee*, and that there is a capital messuage, with the curtilage, dove-cote, and certain closes worth 6s. 8d. per annum; Item, rents of assize at Michaelmas xxiijs. viij½d.; Item, at the feast of St. Martin, lxxivs. v½d.; Item, at the feast of the Purification, xxiijs. iijd.; Item, Rents at the Nativity of our Lord, xxvii. cocks worth 1½d. each, and xliij hens worth ijd. each; Item, that there are there 80 acres of arable land, worth 2s. per acre per annum, and 315 acres of marsh land, worth 1s. per annum; Item, that Robert de Veer, son of said Robert, is his next heir, and is 24 years of age.

Sum total of the Extent, xxxli. xiijs, v½d.

The subject of our *Fine* is an apportionment of *half a knight's-fee* in Flete, between Isabel's sister and Ruellinus de Abrincis; while, in this Inquisition, it appears that Isabel's son, Robert de Vere, had inherited an *entire knight's-fee* there. It would seem, therefore, as if the two coheireses had inherited a knight's-fee between them,—half a fee each;—that Ruellinus had a claim (whether as son by a

former marriage, or by what other means, does not appear) on the sister Constance's share, which it was necessary to settle by "FINAL CONCORD," and that Robert de Vere had eventually become heir to the entirety. The ten marks paid by Ruellinus were probably merely for "equality of exchange."

We have felt bound, as honest commentators, to give all the facts as we find them, and to offer the suggestions which occur to us, but in no wise do we presume to dictate categorically to others. We offer merely our own passing conjectures, courting at the same time the information of those who may be able to correct us.

No. xxxv.—To "Maleté," in the note, should have been added: "the final *e* of this word in the original, is in the form of a contraction for *erre*."

Note to p. 277.—Among the public Records, there is a book of Knights'-fees in Kent, transcribed anno 35 Hen. VIII., from one prepared anno 20 Edw. III. for raising an Aid to make the Black Prince a knight. In this book there are the following entries :—

IN THE HUNDRED OF SHAMEL.

Manerium de GODYNGTON in STRODE.

De Simone Godyenton pro dimidio feodo quod Alanus de Godyenton tenuit in Strode de predicto Galfrido ["Stodeland," the transcriber's error for "Scolland," the "Escollant" of our Fine] et ipse de dicto Comite [Leicestre].

De eodem Simone pro dimidio feodo quod Alanus de Godyenton tenet in Strode de prefato Galfrido, et ipse de Comite Leicestre.

IN THE HUNDRED OF RUXLEY.

Manerium de CHELLESFELD.

De Ottone de Grandisono pro uno feodo et sexta parte unius feodi que idem Otto tenuit in Chellesfeld et CALDECOTE, de Simone de Monte Forti et ipse de honore de Newbery.

Manerium de GODYNGTON.

De Willelmo de Godyenton, pro uno feodo quod Simon de Godyenton tenuit in CHELLESFELD de Henrico Stodeland [Scolland] et ipse de Simone de Monte Forti.

Manerium de FARNBOROUGH.

De Heredibus Johannis Flemyng, pro uno feodo quod predicti heredes tenent [? tenuerunt] in FERNEBERGH et CHELLESFELD de Simone de Chellesfeld; et ipse de Simone de Monte Forti.

No. XLII.—Add to the note: "or Street (in Domesday 'Estraites'), a manor in Limne, afterwards called Court at Street and Courtup Street, the chapel of which was celebrated for being the scene of the impostures of the 'Holy Maid of Kent.'"

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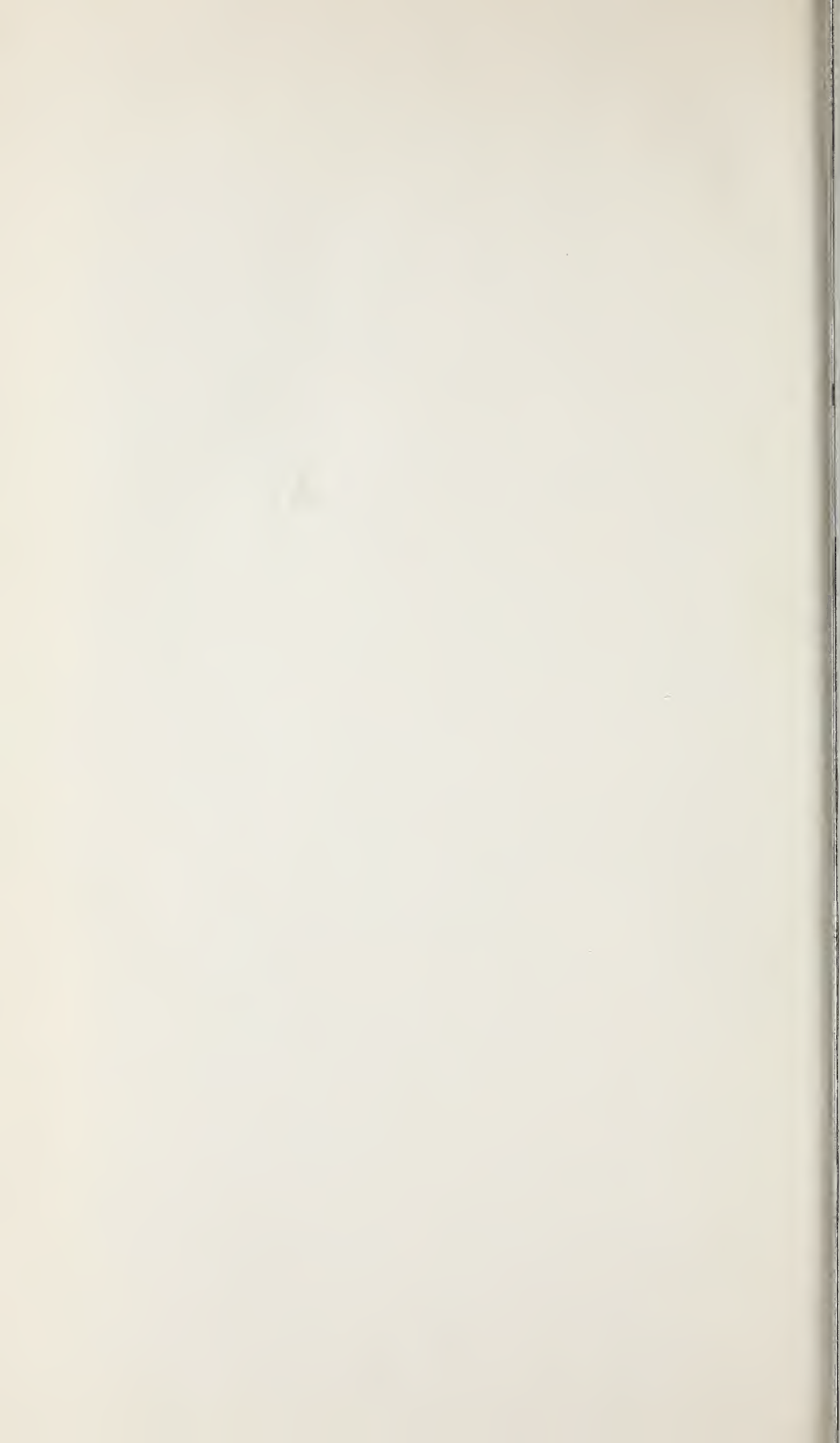
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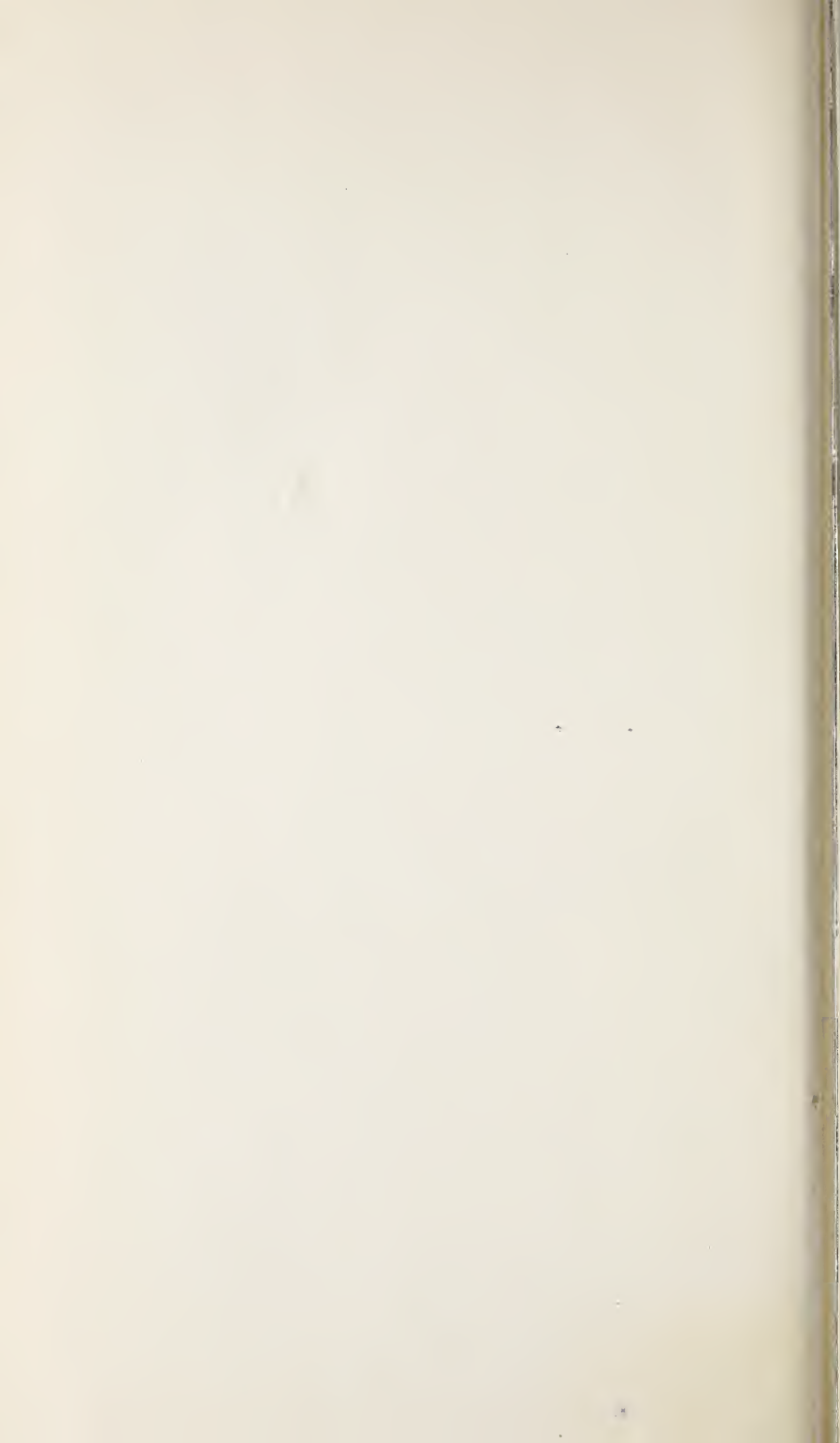
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